

THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER
AND
GENERAL REVIEW.

JULY, 1841.

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JULY, 1841.

ART. I. — *Paley's Natural Theology, with Selections from the Dissertations and Notes of Lord Brougham and Sir Charles Bell, &c., the whole being newly arranged and adapted for the School Library.* By E. BARTLETT, M. D. 2 vols. 12mo. Boston: Marsh, Capen, Lyon, & Webb. 1840.

IN a late number we very briefly noticed this edition of Paley, in connexion with several other works composing the series of the District School Library, designed for the older class of readers. We again bring it before the attention of our readers, for the purpose of dwelling more fully on some of this writer's peculiar merits, and of discussing some points relative to which it is important, considering the present increasing taste for the study of Natural Theology, to have definite and well settled notions.

It is a curious fact in literary history, that the most popular treatise on Natural Theology that we possess, and one too in which the illustrations are chiefly derived from the animal economy, was written forty years ago, by one who had no professional acquaintance with the subject, and who borrowed his materials from the writings of others. Notwithstanding the general progress of knowledge, which has rendered obsolete almost every other work on physiology of equal age, and the multiplicity of treatises on this subject that have since been published by men of name and authority, and abounding in interesting facts, Paley's work has more than sustained itself in the popular estimation. Though not remarkable for metaphys-

ical acuteness, nor particularly acquainted with natural history in any of its branches, he still possessed some qualities that well fitted him for the task he had undertaken.

Much of Paley's success may be attributed to his style of writing, which, if not of the highest order, was nevertheless calculated to engage the attention of ordinary readers, and sustain their interest in the subject. It is simple and concise, without being obscure, familiar without vulgarity, and with an occasional homeliness of expression so aptly introduced as to please, rather than offend, the most fastidious taste. The eminently practical turn of his mind, joined with a certain shrewdness of apprehension, furnished him with illustrations drawn from the most common affairs and objects of life, and for that reason, equally forcible to every different order of readers. The antagonist muscles, for instance, are compared to "two sawyers in a pit," pulling in opposite directions; and the nasal duct which carries the tears from the eye to the nostril, reminds him of "a pipe for carrying off the waste liquor from a dye-house or a distillery." The connexion of one thread of a feather to another, he likens to that of a latch entering into the cavity of a catch in the door-post; and in the protruding snout of the hog working in the ground, he finds a counterpart in the plough-share of the farmer. To give, in ordinary terms, an exact idea of the manner in which the margin of the mesentery is attached to the intestines, would have required a page of description, but Paley, whose eye at that moment probably rested on his shirt-bosom, simply says that "it is stitched and fastened to it like the edging of a ruffle," being "what a seamstress would call 'puckered or gathered' on to it." In describing the aorta of the whale, most writers would have sought to astonish us by displaying the exact measure of its calibre in feet and inches, and the number of gallons of blood driven through it at every contraction of the heart. Not so Paley. Instead of a calculation, he gives us an image. "It is larger in the bore," says he, "than the main pipe of the water-works at London bridge; and the water roaring in its passage through that pipe, is inferior, in impetus and velocity, to the blood gushing from the whale's heart." The shell of the snail is "his tent which he carries with him in his travels," and the pouch of the opossum is the young's "cradle, asylum, and machine for conveyance." The contemplation of the beautiful arrangements by which the functions of degluti-

tion and respiration are prevented from interfering with each other, calls up to his mind one of those occasions where these processes are exerted with unusual vigor and rapidity, a city feast. "What deglutition, what anhelation!" he exclaims, adding, as if from a sense of gratitude in his heart, that "not two guests are choked in a century." In discussing the much debated topic of instinct, he observes, "when a male and female sparrow come together, they do not meet to confer upon the expediency of perpetuating their species," adding in his characteristic way, that, "as an abstract proposition, they care not the value of a barley-corn whether the species be perpetuated or not."

The cheerful, sunny temper of Paley's mind, which is visible on every page of his book, imparted a charm to all his views, that no progress of knowledge or change of opinion can ever diminish. The benevolence of the Deity is a theme to which he is constantly recurring, and with ever increasing delight. In every arrangement of nature, in every allotment of Providence, he finds good, and would fain persuade his readers, that most of the evil in the world is more apparent than real. It was not enough for him to prove the existence of a being who created and sustains the universe, but whose immensity quite overwhelms the feeble conceptions of man. He was less earnest in magnifying his power, than in displaying the infinite riches of his goodness; and by presenting him in the aspect of a kind, benevolent father, who had ever in view the happiness of all his offspring, he sought to awaken in the latter the tender emotions of love and confidence, without weakening the innate sense of reverence and awe. He would not puzzle his head with vexed questions concerning the existence of evil, for he was satisfied with the conviction, that, at the very worst, it bears but a trifling proportion to the amount of good; and that in the whole economy of the universe, the happiness of all created beings, capable of experiencing the emotion, is the great principle by which every arrangement is regulated. To him even bodily pain was not entirely an evil, and in the alleviating circumstances with which it is generally accompanied, he could trace the hand of a beneficent parent mitigating an unavoidable evil, and even turning it into a source of positive pleasure. He even doubts, "if a man is not a gainer by suffering a moderate interruption of bodily ease for a couple of hours out of the four and twenty;" and this he says in no

spirit of asceticism that would purify the soul as with fire, but from a sober consideration of all the circumstances attending the case. Surely, it must be one's own fault who can arise from the perusal of Paley's treatise without increased satisfaction with his lot, or additional confidence in the plans and purposes of God relative to his rational offspring. Unquestionably, this trait in Paley's mind was the means of contributing a peculiar and enduring interest to his work, which is even felt by readers, who yield a speculative assent to doctrines that more or less directly lead to very different views of divine Providence.

Without intending at present to discuss the merits of Paley at length, we cannot let the opportunity pass without calling the reader's attention to one particular, in regard to which it would have been well for this branch of knowledge, if his example had been more closely followed by subsequent writers. No man, we believe, knew better the proper objects of natural theology. He took care that they should never be lost sight of in a maze of metaphysical speculation, and having surveyed the danger of proving nothing by endeavoring to prove too much, he was wise enough to avoid it, though at the risk of his reputation for talents and orthodoxy. He keeps steadily in view the argument on which all his conclusions rest, — contrivance must have had a contriver, design a designer, — as if conscious of the security of his footsteps only so long as that was plainly in sight. If the marks of intelligence as manifested in the works of nature be the same as those in the works of man, — and this it was the burden of his book to show, — then is the conclusion irresistible, that they also must have proceeded from an intelligent cause. Thus far and no farther he believed he was warranted in going, by the rules of sound philosophy and strict logic. In this position he felt himself perfectly secure, and he was unwilling to risk what he had gained, in the vain attempt to reach that stupendous result, a **FIRST CAUSE**. He saw, as clearly as those who have found fault with his conclusions without taking the trouble to understand them, the fallacy of any reasoning founded on his leading proposition, which should aim at this result, and was probably struck by the inherent absurdity of the finite proving the infinite. The wisdom of the Deity, he says, "must be adequate to the conduct of that order of things under which we live. And this," he concludes, "is enough." The great truth of a being at the head of creation, possessing intelligence, power, and goodness, in a degree be-

yond our utmost conceptions to measure, ought to be enough for any one. To the usual objection, that, by the conditions of the proposition, this being must, a fortiori, have proceeded from a cause of still higher intelligence, it is usually answered with more or less parade of reasoning, that he is the ultimate result, the First Cause. We doubt if this reply ever satisfied a conscientious disbeliever, and Paley evidently shows that he felt the validity of the objection. Neither the phrase, first cause, nor any equivalent expression is to be found in his treatise, and the terms, ordinarily used to denote the great attributes of the Deity, he regards as merely superlatives, indicating the feebleness of our conceptions rather than any positive notions respecting the extent of those attributes. Therein, we think, Paley was correct. Whatever a priori reasoning may prove, Natural Theology stops at something very far short of an uncreated, self-existent, first cause. Even admitting that by the conditions of the question, the Author of nature is himself an effect, nothing is gained by the objection, because the soundness of the reasoning, by which we arrive at his existence, is not necessarily affected thereby, since it is only when the consequences that may be deduced from any course of reasoning are absurd, that they can have this effect. Having now arrived at a being endowed with attributes adequate to the production of all that we see or can conceive of, capable of upholding as well as of creating the universe, of continuing the existence of his rational creatures beyond the present life, and ever ordering all things to work together for good, may we not say with Paley, "it is enough?" without troubling ourselves with the question,—or at least, without feeling that our belief in the Deity will be affected, however it may be decided,—whether this cause is uncreated, self-existent, or is only one of a series of causes stretching to infinity.

Less than fifty years ago, to have questioned the all-sufficiency of the manifestations of design in the natural world to prove the existence of the Deity, would have been almost equivalent to an open avowal of atheism. Now, on the contrary, to sneer at the deductions of natural theology, and deride its claims to respect, is not so much a characteristic of atheism as it is of a more sublimated faith that disdains the vulgar support of proofs, and reposes on a sort of intuitive consciousness of the divine presence. There is another class of persons, chiefly found among those who have devoted themselves to the

cultivation of physical science, who, while they profess to be amenable to reason, deny the existence of any design, on the strength of a vicious system of reasoning never applied in any other scientific researches. It is curious to see minds, rather distinguished for their acuteness and intimately acquainted with the phenomena of nature, rejecting all belief in special design, and establishing their position on false views and verbal quibbles, which, offered to them in support of any other doctrine, they would consider an insult to their understandings. "It is said of the teeth," says Geoffroy St. Hilaire, "that they are evidently made for cutting and breaking the food. People are unwilling to confine themselves to an exact statement of the fact, — to say simply that they may be very favorably applied to this service." Again, he continues, "will you insist upon your views thus; '*this knife, for instance, is made for cutting.*' Adhering strictly to the observation of the fact alone, I prefer to reply; that the knife is capable of cutting, that it can be, that it no doubt will be used for cutting. 'But,' you will add, 'the manufacturer really made it for cutting.' Who has told you so? I shall reply. The manufacturer, it is true, has rendered it suitable for cutting; but as for his intention, if it comes to that, why may not I confine myself to the simple belief, that he made it for the purpose of creating a productive article, — in short, that he made it to sell. In reality, he may have made it for several purposes, but you are unwilling to admit that he had more than one in view."* That many knives, — not to mention razors, — have been manufactured merely to sell, certainly nobody will be disposed to deny; but this is seriously said by one whose reputation as a profound, philosophical anatomist is scarcely second to any other of the present day, — whose researches are characterized by a spirit of deep investigation and unexceptionable logic. If such a mind could be satisfied with such paltry sophistry, is it to be wondered at, if some of a very different stamp should regard it as sound and conclusive reasoning?

The doctrine of final causes, well grounded as it is, has suffered much from the injudicious support of some of its friends, which, more than anything else probably, has drawn upon it the attack of its opponents. Men are so fond of being thought wise, that they are apt to limit the resources of the Creator by

* *Système dentaire des Mammifères et des Oiseaux*, p. 53.

their own, supposing that no arrangement can be possibly meant for any other purpose than what is cognizable to their own feeble intelligence. Some people talk of the exact end and object of every natural arrangement, with as much minuteness and apparently as far an insight into the matter, as if they had been spectators of their original constitution, and personally informed of all the designs of the Deity concerning them. Such presumption has necessarily led to many ridiculous conclusions, which have done more than all metaphysical arguments together to discredit the doctrine of final causes, and lead to such lamentable displays of skepticism regarding it, as we have witnessed above. If we are to believe that winds were designed to blow ships from one place to another, that the ocean is salt to preserve it from putrefaction, and that gnats and mosquitoes are created to punish man for his sins, it would be but one step farther to believe that rivers are made to feed canals, rocks to build houses, and the skins of animals to be converted into leather.

It must always be borne in mind that there is an essential difference between design and adaptation, if we would avoid those strange errors here adverted to, which have filled the minds of sensible men with feelings of disgust, if not derision. Thus, the eye is evidently constructed in reference to the laws of the transmission of light; the end accomplished is vision, and vision only; and therefore we are amply warranted in believing that the eye was designed for seeing. It is not enough that a certain purpose be exactly fulfilled, to constitute sufficient evidence of design; reference to this purpose and to no other must be discerned in every part of the arrangement. The light of the moon is highly pleasing and convenient to man; coal furnishes him with fuel; slate with roofs for his houses, and the flowers of the field with odors to regale his sense of smell; and though we can see no other object in these things than what we have specified, yet to say that they were *designed* for these purposes, would imply an acquaintance with the ends of creation unattainable by man. That they are admirably adapted to the purposes we see them fulfilling, is all that, in the present state of our knowledge, we can safely assert; and though we admit that these phenomena present more or less evident manifestations of divine wisdom, that has constructed the various parts of the universe with the most perfect harmony of relations with one another, yet this is a question of special

design, and we have no right to confound them together. Design, of course, is always accompanied by adaptation, but the latter is by no means necessarily a proof of the former. To say that adaptation, which is so conspicuous in the works of nature, implies the existence of a great adapter, upon the same principle, that design implies a designer, is to be guilty of a contemptible quibble, hardly deserving serious consideration. The qualities of things have proceeded from the Supreme Intelligence, but their relations to one another, in consequence of these qualities, are often discovered and turned to profitable account by the creature himself. For instance, the skin of animals, which is designed to perform an indispensable part in their economy, is also appropriated by man to purposes of convenience and comfort. That they are capable of being so employed, is a discovery of his own, and he is the only adapter in the case. Indeed, in some cases, we may have unquestionable evidence that the adaptation is not the result of design. A few years since, a calf was exhibited in Paris, having an additional lower jaw, the molar teeth of which grew directly outwards from its sides, and was used by the creature like a pair of combs to scratch itself; and such was the dexterity with which it used these instruments, that, had it not been incompatible with the creature's existence by preventing it from taking food, they might have been said, — without being wider of the mark than has often happened, — to be an express provision of nature, an instance of special design.

Nothing, however, has more discredited the doctrine of final causes, — because they have made it ridiculous, — than the numerous cases, where design has been attributed to certain provisions, which have been subsequently ascertained, either not to exist at all, or to be destined for a different purpose. These are errors, to which people are constantly liable, who prefer assigning a reason for everything, to an occasional confession of ignorance; as if they were endowed with that omniscience, which belongs only to the Deity. The most of our readers have, no doubt, heard of the Babirussa, an animal of the hog-family, found in the Oceanic isles, which is remarkable for the form and direction of the two upper canine teeth, which, instead of growing downward, take the opposite direction upward, pierce the skin, and bend over till they quite touch the forehead. The design of this curious arrangement has never been satisfactorily explained; yet Paley, on the authority of Buffon, who obtain-

ed the fact from some credulous traveller, or more probably from his own imagination, states that "the animal hitches one of these bent upper teeth upon the branch of a tree, and then suffers its whole body to swing from it. This is its manner of taking repose, and of consulting for its safety." How must Paley have been mortified to learn, what we now know, that this animal is found in regions where, for miles around, not a tree nor shrub can be seen large enough to furnish a peg to hang his head upon. Mr. Lawrence relates, that the foot of an insect, (*Sphex cribraria*,) was described as being perforated with minute holes, which were immediately declared to be designed for sifting the pollen of plants, and thus applying the fine powder to the pistilliferous flowers. Unluckily for the admiration thus gratuitously excited by the account of this arrangement, a more faithful examination showed that the structure in question never existed. Such cases, certainly, cannot be fairly urged against the general doctrine of final causes, yet the fact, that they are so used, and with more apparent satisfaction than any other consideration, should render us cautious in explaining the designs of Providence. In Lord Brougham's "Discourse on Natural Theology," which is not included in the present edition of Paley, it is said, that "if we examine the structure of a porpoise's head, we find its cavities capable of great distention, and such that he can fill them at pleasure with air or with water, according as he would mount, float, or sink. By closing the blow-hole, he shuts out the water; by letting in the water, he can sink; by blowing from the lungs against the cavities, he can force out the water, and fill the hollows with air, in order to rise. No one can doubt, that such facts afford direct evidence of an apt contrivance directed towards a specific object, and adapted by some power thoroughly acquainted with the laws of hydrostatics, as well as perfectly skilful in workmanship." It certainly would require more knowledge of hydrostatics than most people have, to be able to understand how the porpoise, which is heavier than water, can render itself still more so by filling the said cavities with water; or in other words, how water can become heavier than itself. Neither can we understand how forcing out the water and filling the cavities with air that was already in the lungs, can make the animal specifically lighter, and thus capable of rising more easily. The fundamental error in this contrivance is that of supposing the porpoise to be lighter than water, — an error we should hardly

have expected from one of Lord Brougham's scientific reputation.

Some writers on natural theology, especially those sharp-sighted people who see so far into the designs of Providence as never to be at a loss for an explanation of any arrangement, seem not to be aware of a well-settled fact, that the animal structure presents many instances of parts that can answer no possible use, in the economy to which they belong. The clavicles, or collar-bones, for instance, the use of which is to support the shoulder and determine its distance from the chest, are found in many animals reduced to mere rudiments, unattached to the bones with which they are generally connected, and floating loose among the muscles. This is the case in the otters, the porcupine, the caviar, the rabbit, dog, and cat families. In one of the hyenas, the clavicles have been observed to be only four lines in length, and hardly half a line in thickness. An instance of a similar kind occurs in the opossum family, where we find two peculiar bones connected with the pelvis, serving as a point of attachment for the sack in which the young is carried after birth. The same bones, however, in a rudimentary state are observed in the males, which, of course, are unfurnished with any sack. Now, it is not pretended that rudimentary parts like these serve any purpose whatever, and that, so far as we know, they are not created in vain; yet it by no means follows, that the skill or wisdom of the great Architect is thereby called in question. All we can say on the subject is, that in the formation of animals there seems to have been a constant reference, as it were, to some general type or plan of construction, which is filled up in the different forms of being, so as to put them in relation to the circumstances and conditions for which they were destined. So faithfully does nature adhere to general plans, that it sometimes, as in the cases just mentioned, preserves a minor detail after its necessity has been superseded by some other arrangement. Now, whether we come to the conclusion, that the creative power is fettered by being thus constrained to act in certain directions and within a certain sphere, or that the fact only shows the marvellous fertility of its resources, which, out of a few elements, can produce such an immense variety of results, it is no less certain, that this power acts upon a system of laws, and in obedience to a principle of order. If animals were formed with nothing in common in their structure, but every one entirely different from the rest, in the

plan and frame-work as well as the details of its organization, with a little stronger shadow of reason might it be urged, that they are the result of a blind, fortuitous concourse of elements, endowed with the common properties of matter. Nothing, however, in the whole history of organization, is more curious than the uniformity and simplicity of the general plans of construction. However much animals may differ from one another in external figure and size, in the complexity and perfection of their organization, we find that no species or group of species is without numerous relations to other species or groups, and that forms of structure apparently confined to a single district of the earth, and to a particular point in the scale of being, again, as discovery advances, make their appearance in a remote region, and in creatures widely different, perhaps, in the rest of their structure, and not unfrequently among those, that have been blotted from the book of life. As if, when the circumstances and condition of a creature required some peculiar form and combination of the organs, they were sought among already existing organizations, rather than constituted anew. Now the very fact, that certain parts, which are no longer needed in the economy of the animal, still exist in a rudimentary state, for no other reason than that they belong to a general plan, certainly proves the existence of a plan, and consequently of a being who made it. How often, in works of human contrivance, do we meet with arrangements, that serve no other purpose than to complete the general plan on which the work is constructed, and thus, by the very imperfection which they seem to indicate, they testify more strongly, perhaps, than any other, the agency of an intelligent contriver. Facts like these must deeply impress us with a sense of that matchless skill, which thus, by modifying a few, simple forms, obtains the greatest variety of ends.

We take this opportunity also to express our misgivings touching the disposition, common to many writers on natural theology, of giving an undue preference to instances of mechanical contrivance, which abound in the animal structure, as proofs of an intelligent Creator. Paley, who delighted in this class of proofs, was naturally led to it by the conditions of his leading argument; for inasmuch as mechanism in the works of man is conclusive evidence of their having proceeded from an intelligent agent, so should it have the same effect in the works of nature. And, in order that there should be as little room as possible for

cavil in regard to the nature of the instances which he adduced he designedly selected those, in which the contrivances most nearly resembled, if they were not identical with, some to be found in the works of human hands, though well aware, that they constituted "the coarsest portion of nature's workmanship." His example has been followed by many of his successors, who were unable to plead his excuse. The idea which these proofs are apt to excite, in too many minds, is, that the nearer the works of nature approximate to those of man, the more clearly are we to discern in them the impress of the Creator's hand, whose ways are acknowledged to be not as our ways. If the proudest efforts of human skill bear no comparison with the humblest of nature's works, we cannot exactly see why this fact of resemblance should be offered to the skeptical mind, as conclusive proof of the Divine origin of the latter. It would not be surprising, if such a mind should reply, that the necessity of resorting to mechanical contrivances at all, implies anything rather than infinite power, which would be supposed to make use of only the most direct and efficient means for the accomplishment of its ends. This is not all. The facts themselves are sometimes found to be erroneous, for such must be the effect of human imperfection and the progress of knowledge, an emotion of the ludicrous is awakened, and thus the tendency of the whole doctrine is to diminish the little respect that is often felt for such speculations, and shut still closer the avenues to conviction.

Paley, cautious as he was, could not avoid the errors of his age, even when the truth, if he had but known it, would have answered his purpose better. The eye, for instance, he observed to be constructed on optical principles, and among other points of resemblance between it and other optical instruments, he concluded there is also that of the adjusting power, or adaptation to objects at different distances, which in the latter is effected by changing the distance between the glasses. He accordingly laid down the prevalent opinion, that when the attention is directed to a nearer object, "the cornea, or outermost coat of the eye, is rendered more round and prominent; the crystalline lens underneath is pushed forwards; and the axis of vision, as the depth of the eye is called, is elongated." Not only has no such change in the cornea or crystalline ever been proved to take place, but the necessity of any adjusting

power at all, is quite problematical, to say the least of it.* This being the case, how much more wonderful a piece of workmanship does the eye appear, untrammelled by one less of those contrivances, which are required in the best of human labors, and defying imitation by the very simplicity of its arrangements.

This is a serious evil, and one, too, which seems to be increasing; for we have observed, that in many of the recent books on natural theology, a comparison of works divine with works human, constitutes the burden of the story. On almost every page some instance is recorded, with expressions of wonder and delight, where God has wrought like man, and for that reason, by a singular logic, we are called upon to acknowledge the hand of an omnipotent architect. We would not proscribe such comparisons altogether, especially when used in the way of illustration, but we do most seriously object to them when multiplied and put forward, for the purpose of more forcibly impressing the mind with a sense of Almighty power.

It is said, that extremes meet. A more remarkable verification of the saying could not be had, than in the fact, that the same persons, or many of them, who are so ready to find the evidence of a Deity in the mechanical contrivances of animal organisms, have arrayed themselves against the various chemical and electrical theories, by which speculative men have explained the actions of the animal economy, as if they were really

* We are a little surprised that Sir Charles Bell, while acknowledging the difficulty of accounting for the mode of adjustment, should still declare his belief in its existence. It appears, by mathematical calculation, that the changes in the angle of refraction for all distances from eighteen inches to infinity, do not exceed twenty-three minutes; and thus, although the focus certainly changes its position, yet the variation is so small as always to be included within the thickness of the retina. (Simonoff. *Jour. de Physiol. exper.* 4, 260. Desmoulins, *Anatomie des Systemes nerv.* II. 652.) Magendie and Biot also ascertained, in their experiments on the dead eye, that at whatever distance the object was placed from the eye, the image was equally distinct on the retina. And, indeed, the laws of optics as manifested in the telescope rather disprove the necessity of any adjustment in the eye. Everybody knows, that the common spy-glass needs no adjustment when directed to any object whatever, more than two or three hundred yards distant. It might be expected, in the same manner, that in regard to distant objects, the eye would need no adjustment; and in regard to very near ones, there must be a power of adjustment, or no distinct vision, the latter of which is actually the case.

subversive of the doctrine of Divine agency altogether. It would seem at first, however, a very reasonable conclusion to one, who had been taught to see a proof of the Deity in the mechanical principles which regulate the position of the muscles, that if digestion and secretion, or any function whatever, were shown to be the result of chemical agency, the proof would receive additional strength and clearness. He soon ascertains, much to his surprise, perhaps, that the advocates of such a theory have been regarded as little better than infidels, and their doctrines branded with the charge of having the worst possible tendency. No better treatment has been extended to those, who, unwilling to theorize on imperfect data, and not ashamed to acknowledge their ignorance, have been content to look upon the actions of the animal economy as regulated by laws, which, in the present state of our knowledge, may be regarded as peculiar to organic matter; instead of attributing them to the agency of a principle called *life*, or *vital principle*, immaterial, and independent of, and superadded to organization.* For this, they too have strangely enough been classed with materialists and atheists, and the peace of society declared to be endangered by their writings; and all this, merely for refusing to look for the cause of certain effects in a vague abstraction.

We would also notice another prevalent notion with writers on natural theology, namely, that in almost every natural arrangement, some reference was made to man. It seems to us, that this doctrine is equally at variance with all true philosophy and enlightened views of the providence of God, which teach us, that, like a kind and impartial parent, he hath made provision for the wants and comforts of all his creatures. Man, as a prominent object of creation, has, unquestionably, shared largely in the Divine favor, but the idea that every other has been made merely to contribute to his happiness, springs rather from pride and ignorance, than from any evidence to that effect in the constitution of things.

“While man exclaims, ‘See all things for my use,’
‘See man for mine,’ replies a pampered goose.”

The earth, the air, and the sea, are filled with myriads of be-

* That man, besides an immaterial principle, called the *mind*, or *soul*, possesses another immaterial principle, called *life*, is, or at least has been, till very lately, the prevailing opinion of English physiologists, — of Sir Charles Bell, for instance.

ings ; to promote whose existence and happiness, the circumstances around them are no less favorably adapted, than are those in which man is placed, to promote his existence and happiness. For anything we can see to the contrary, the course of nature would proceed without interruption, even if man were blotted from existence ; and, indeed, the fact is sufficiently proved by the history of the earth, as unfolded by geology, before it became the abode of man. We cannot, therefore, adopt a philosophy which teaches that this goodly earth and the brave o'erhanging firmament was fitted up expressly for the comfort and convenience of man ; and that reference was made to this end in every arrangement of nature. It is as narrow as it is false ; and as unworthy of man, as it is degrading to God. We thought we had witnessed all manner of applications of this philosophy, till we met with the following passage in a work possessing some claims to authority.

“ Though, at first view, the animals of which I have in the present chapter given some account, [*cerebral hydatid* of the sheep, which occasions the *rot*, and the *intestinal worms* of man,] seem to be altogether punitive, and intended as scourges to sinful man both in his own person and in his property, and their great object is hastening the execution of the sublapsarian sentence of death, yet this evil is not unmixed with good. Though fearful and hurtful to individuals, yet it promotes the general welfare by helping to reduce within due limits the numbers of man and beast. Besides, with regard to the lord of the creation, these things are trials, that exercise his patience and other virtues, or tend to produce his reformation, and finally to secure to him an entrance into an immutable and eternal state of felicity, when that of probation is at an end, so that the gates of Death may be to him the gates of PEACE and REST.” * — p. 331.

Our readers may think it a waste of words, perhaps, to expose the unsoundness of these views, but there are many, we fear, who, deceived by the phraseology in which they are clothed, regard them somewhat in the light of religious truths. Paley strongly doubted, if any natural arrangement whatever were directly designed to produce pain, and subsequent writers are unable to recognise any exception to the general rule. Wherever

* On the power, wisdom, and goodness of God, as manifested in the creation of animals, and in their history, habits, and instincts. By the Rev. William Kirby. [*Bridgewater Treatise*,] 1835.

pain, or any other physical evil, is apparently the direct and predominant result, a more careful examination of the conditions of the case will show us, that it is incidental and unessential to the main design. In the above-mentioned instances, the theory is both false and absurd. That mind must be laboring under some moral obliquity, that can see any justice in thus visiting the sins of man upon the innocent brutes under his dominion ; or in punishing children, (who are chiefly the subjects of intestinal worms,) too young to be conscious of the nature of sin, or to profit by such harsh discipline. If these creatures be really intended as scourges of sinful man, what flat rebellion is it against the divine government, to seek by the aid of natural means, to deliver ourselves from their annoyance. If they come directly from the hand of a chastening God, expressly commissioned to afflict us, it rather becomes us to bear the scourge in passive submission to the divine will. On the contrary, how strongly does the correct explanation of such facts show forth the power, wisdom, and goodness of God, especially when contrasted with these narrow and repulsive views of his moral government. He has decreed, that the course of nature should be under the dominion of certain general laws, and has given us the necessary intellect to study and understand them. He has made obedience to them an essential condition of happiness ; and disobedience, whether wilful or unconscious, the fruitful parent of pain and distress. We are thus furnished with a powerful inducement to persevere in our endeavors to become acquainted with these laws, and by an admirable provision, this very never-ceasing, never-satisfied striving after truth, is made a pleasure. In the case before us, there has been some infringement of the organic laws, giving rise to disease and death, and it is our duty to understand these laws, if ignorant of them, and regulate our conduct by their requisitions. If it be one of these laws, that watery pasturage occasions the rot in sheep, we have only to transfer our flocks to different situations, in order to avoid the evil. If it be one of these laws, that certain diet develops the germs of intestinal worms, we are bound to ascertain wherein we have erred, and obey more strictly the organic laws. And so, too, with most of the evil we suffer. Instead of fancying that we discern the hand of Providence guiding it to an appointed victim, to punish and to scourge, we should rather see in it the consequence of our own ignorance, or wilful disregard of the universal laws of nature.

In thus animadverting on some prevalent faults of writers on natural theology, we may have spoken, perhaps, with unnecessary freedom, but we trust our meaning will not be misunderstood by such as may not agree with us in opinion. It is because we do not believe that natural theology is a vain and unprofitable branch of knowledge, that we have ventured to expose the errors of its injudicious friends, which have lowered it in the estimation of men. This is not to inflict a blow on the science; but, on the contrary, its tendency is to raise and strengthen it, for the plain reason, that truth is rendered more effective by being divested of whatever errors may accompany it. Natural theology, when judiciously taught, furnishes a valuable and interesting study, adapted to a great variety of minds. Even though we may not need its evidence of the existence of a Deity, yet by enlarging our notions of his power and beneficence, it fills the heart with sentiments of respect and love for Him, and strengthens our reliance upon the Divine goodness in view of the immeasurable extent of its influence. Let the man, whose thoughts are habitually confined to his own situation and destinies, and who is agitated with a perpetual fear and trembling, lest he may not keep himself unspotted from the world, look abroad upon nature with that interest which is excited by some knowledge of its phenomena, and in view of the universal beneficence that meets his notice; he may be constrained both to make a less account of himself, and to exclaim, with Paley, "it is a happy world, after all." The worth and dignity of our conceptions of the Supreme must depend, in a great degree, on how much we know of his works; for it is from them only, that we can learn to dismiss those narrow and illiberal notions of the Divine character, which are apt to be imbibed by contemplating one being only, though endowed with excellent qualities, and destined for an immortal existence. With this opinion of the moral and religious tendency of natural theology, it cannot be too strongly commended to those who need the kind of instruction it imparts, and especially to the young, who cannot be too early impressed with those ennobling views, that are so different from the false and degrading notions so much the result of sectarian teaching.

I. R.

ART. II. — *The Works of WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH, M. A., containing his Book, entitled the "Religion of Protestants, a safe Way to Salvation," together with Sermons, Letters, Discourses, Controversies, &c. &c.* First American, from the Twelfth London Edition. Philadelphia: Herman Hooker. 1840.

WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH, the most complete logician in the English language, and the most powerful antagonist of the Catholic Church, was born in 1612; a few months before, by the death of Queen Elizabeth, the reformed belief lost its chief temporal protector. During the reign that was then hastening to its close, the outward traces of the old religion, by a series of rigid persecutions, and of ardent proselytism, had been obliterated from the land. If Campion, from the scaffold on which he met the penalty of the laws, had glanced over the surrounding country, his eye would have rested on provinces, which, a few years before, had been unwavering in their devotion to the holy see, in which, at the time of his execution, there was not a Catholic church to be seen, or a Catholic priest to be discovered. But if, from the hour of his suffering, he could have looked forward, and with that scope of prophecy which was attributed to him by his disciples, have marshalled before him the generations which were to follow, he would have seen, that as each came up in its turn, the cross and the sackcloth became more frequent, until at length one third of the inhabitants of Great Britain were numbered among the professors of the Catholic belief. He might have appealed to them as the most solemn witnesses he could bring forward of the justice of the cause, to which he bore testimony till the end.

In the spring of 1581, Edward Campion, — the confessor of Catholicism in the sixteenth century, the martyr, to whose memory the prostrated Church clung with as much reverence as the Church triumphant to that of Cranmer, — landed in Great Britain, at the head of a small band of missionaries. But at the first point on which they struck, they found that their usefulness was injured by their union; and after a fruitless attempt, in their corporate capacity, to elude the domestic authorities, they separated, and struck out by themselves distinct courses into the most secret recesses of the kingdom. It became known to the Queen before long, that a priest had landed on her

shores, who carried with him dormant credentials for the exercise of legatine powers, which it only required the warmth of toleration to resuscitate. A proclamation was issued, in which it was made high treason to conceal or to converse with a priest of the Church of Rome, and a little while after, it was declared equally treasonable, to refuse to discover upon demand, whatever might be known of the movements of the suspected order. The ministers called together Parliament to require the passage of laws, sufficiently severe to restrain the terrible inroads which were experienced from the emigrant priests of Douay. It was enacted on the 20th of March, 1586, that all persons possessing, or pretending to possess, the power of absolving, or withdrawing others from the established religion, should, with their abettors and counsellors, be deemed guilty of treason. Campion saw that his apostolic functions would be speedily quenched under such a law, were they to be openly exercised; and he contented himself with following out those secret tracks, which had been traced for him, and in exercising in the most studied concealment, the sacred duties of his office. Before he set out on his ministry, he left behind him, as a pilgrim, who is about to depart on a remote and perilous adventure, a paper, which was to be published in case he was discovered; and which contained an account of the mission, with which he had been charged. He stated, that he had come solely to preach his faith; that he acknowledged the Queen's temporal supremacy; and that if he should fall, it would be in the conscientious fulfilment of a duty, which infringed neither on the customs of society, nor the laws of the realm.

But the friend, to whom the declaration was entrusted, was bought by the emissaries of the Queen to give it a premature publication. The ministers learnt, for the first time, the mettle of the adversary, who was against them. They had baffled the armada of Spain; but how could they battle against the nerveless arm of a single priest? They had heard the rustle in the camp of their enemy, which betokened a general attack; but as they looked on the host that came forth, the soldier's plume faded before their eyes, and the armor shrank into the hempen shirt of the Jesuit. They said, that the fiends had come down to fight with their ancient allies, and they felt, that the ordinary instruments of oppression were inadequate to contend with foes, whose weapons were those of another world. Ten thousand priests, let loose upon the kingdom, was a pros-

pect, that terrified the Protestant ministers of Elizabeth. But they must do what they could. They established a train of police, who dogged the steps of recusants; who enticed them to the criminal offence of worshipping in their own religion, and then, when they had led them to the act by participating in it themselves, seized them, and dragged them blindfold to the torture. It was after having been the object of a hunt the most active, and the most concentrated in the history of persecution, that Campion, when in celebration of worship according to his Church, was seized and carried to the tower, to be there examined by those who were thus to enjoy the fruits of their signal victory.

It was not till he had been subjected for some time to the milder assaults of his keepers, that the last resort was taken, that was to bring him to a recantation of his creed. He had been carried to the presence of Elizabeth, and in her council-chamber had been plied with those powerful inducements, which the protector of the faith could offer. But with an obstinacy which subjected him to the final pains which were adjudged to those, who should persevere against persuasion, he rejected her promises and despised her threats. The act of sacrifice, he told her, was the honor which he awaited. His life had been passed in preparation for it. His nerves were wrought up to the trial. When he was carried into the chamber where the final experiment was to be made, he is said to have preserved, even by the confession of his adversaries, a countenance composed and serene. In the intervals between the tortures to which he was subjected, he was brought forth again before the assembled divines, and there invited by them to a discussion of the points on which they were at variance, under circumstances which might have unmanned the most sturdy frame. But there are cases, in which the mind acquires so complete a victory, that it loses the sense of suffering; and Campion, like Latimer in the pains of his martyrdom, rose to an eloquence which shook the disputants, who had been collected to meet him. The most potent engine of the inquisitors had failed, and he was taken from the rack in a state of exhaustion so great, that it would have required but another exertion of its powers, to place him forever beyond its reach.

It has happened, sometimes, that when the mind has been wrought to its highest tension, and has loftily surmounted the task which was placed before it, it suddenly gives way, and

shrinks into an imbecility, more wonderful than even the strength from which it fell. Who can follow Cranmer through the changes of his trial, his recantation, his martyrdom, without lamenting even with tears, that the man whom the rod of the inquisitor could not break, could bow to a child's persuasion, when the danger against which he had fortified himself was over. Campion, in the lassitude of his prison, lost the courage which nerved him in the excitement of the torture, and in an hour of weakness yielded to his keeper, what his inquisitor's could not force from him, a recantation of his faith. It was a victory for the court of Elizabeth, such as they had not yet experienced. The Jesuit convinced! The legate convicted! To drag him before the court, to lead him in triumph to the Queen, to carry him to the open cathedral, where he could speak his shame to the multitude, was the work of a moment. But when the missionary was brought to the spot where he had suffered, his ancient courage returned. He lifted himself from the apathy in which, since his imprisonment, he had been chained, and as if an evil spirit had been driven out of him which had bowed him to the ground, again assumed the attitude he had borne during the proud day of his torture. Where was the cringing apostate, whom they had boasted they could exhibit? The spot, where his confession was to have been sealed, was the spot where his death was decreed; and the baffled court, in vengeance for his wilful heresy, condemned him to be executed as a common malefactor at Tyburn.

If the English ministry had looked around for an engine for the promotion of religious schism, the most adequate they could have found would have been the torture. It gave to the adherents of the proscribed faith a subtle and fierce energy. The carcase of the hierarchy, which was lying prostrate on the earth, it acted upon like galvanism, and roused it to superhuman efforts. "Like ancient Stephen," might have reasoned a priest who was led up to offer his last testimony, "I must fall in the spring time of my mission; but far on the fields around me rest the seeds I have scattered. As I speak, the winds carry them from me; canonization at Rome, and in the hearts of Christians of all ages; are not these the wages of a martyr?" Had the Christian church in its first stages grown apace under the smiles of a complacent government, it might have fallen the victim of its own prosperity, as soon as the climate became less

serene, or its treatment more rigid. God in his wisdom chose the sufferings of the first martyrs, as the best evidence they could bear to the miracles they had witnessed, and the faith they had received. We might look around us in vain for proofs of the divine origin of our creed, had its earlier confessors, to whom they had been entrusted as a charge, been allowed to sink into mitred cushions, in the luxury of pensioned orthodoxy. It is true that the validity of the testimony of the apostolic martyrs, when contrasted with that which was borne by their successors, consisted in their having suffered for what they saw, and not in what they gave credit to. Had their story consisted in a simple expression of faith, their sincerity could have been acquiesced in, without their creed being received. But they gave witness of a splendid series of miracles, which could have been worked by no power but that which was supreme, and their evidence was not a matter of spiritual faith, but of personal experience. Who could see their courage during their sufferings, and their unwavering adherence to what they had at first declared, without conceding that they spoke what they believed? And when a mass of testimony so tried as to be above suspicion; so great as to do away with the objection of individual delusion; and so united that not a flaw could be detected in its face, is admitted in relation to events which fall within the scope of the operations of Providence, it would be transgressing the most familiar rules of evidence to reject its burden as incredible. The martyrs of the Reformation, on the other hand, it is admitted, were sincere, but they were sincere in the declaration of their speculative belief, and not of their actual observation. But to the greater part of those who attended them in their extremities, so nice a distinction was not observable. They looked upon the voice of the sufferer, whether Catholic or Protestant, as the voice of God. When the confessors of the reformed faith had run their course, and when on the accession of Elizabeth, the Catholics were in turn the objects of persecution, they became the sole possessors of an argument, which is the most plausible that man can wield, and which gave them a moral superiority they had before tried in vain to acquire. They were the apostles of freedom and truth as well as priests of Rome. When on the death of Elizabeth the frozen spell which had bound the kingdom was dissolved, the fruits of their labors came to light, and the seeds, which had rested so long in the ground, burst forth at once into life and fulness.

It was in the reign of James the First, that the evils of intolerance displayed themselves. The Queen had exterminated dissenters, but she had not quenched dissent. She had ground Catholics to the dust, but at the same time she forced into the soil more firmly a doctrine, which only required a more favorable sky to bring forth in rich luxuriance. The missionaries seized the first occasion in the new reign to concur with the king himself in determining to regard the laws against nonconformity as a dead letter. They came out from their lurking places, and paraded themselves in open day, in the full dress of their order; and it became a matter of great surprise to those who had looked no farther than the outward shell in the last reign, to find that men, who had at one time sported most prominently the livery of the established religion, were now arrayed in the uniform of the Catholic church. With that consummate wisdom, which taught the Jesuits to sap the schools before they should assault the senate, they collected in masses around the seminaries and universities of the kingdom, in order to tamper with those who might linger on the limits of the camp, or to seize upon those who advanced beyond its outposts. The University of Oxford found itself the object of the most assiduous attention from the emissaries of the church of Rome; and in each of its colleges there were converts made, who scrupled not to avow openly opinions, which in the last reign it would have been treason to entertain.

Chillingworth had been for some years a member of Trinity College, and had been elected, after having passed through the usual probation, to the honors of a fellowship, when he became acquainted with the celebrated John Fisher, who had been selected by the general of his order as a sentinel well qualified to watch at so important a pass. He had been bred with a deep, though prejudiced dislike to whatever was connected with the Catholic church; the Protestant martyrology had been the hand-book of his infancy; and through its stern and impassioned lessons, he became instinct with those feelings of exaggerated horror, which led him to look upon a papist as more sinful than he from whom all sin arises. He went forth to battle against the Jesuit, as he would against a monster; at the first blow the terrors he had conjured up vanished, and like the knight in the legend, who found himself engaged in an encounter with a beautiful woman whom magical arts had thrown in the place of the dragon he had gone out to meet, the young

champion of Protestantism found his arm fall nerveless to his side. He had brought up the weakest arguments upon which a logician can rely, the discarded points of his opponents; and he found that they were one by one snatched from him, while he himself was encased in a net so strong, and yet so subtle, that it was equally impossible for him to escape from it, and to realize his capture. He rested the title of Protestantism on tradition and on universal consent; he found himself laying the foundation for the structure the Jesuit was erecting. In a letter in which he opens the sudden revulsion which his feelings had undergone, he submits to his correspondent two questions which betray distinctly the point on which he had surrendered; first, whether it be not evident from Scripture and the fathers, from reason, from the goodness of God and the necessity of mankind, that there must be some one church infallible in matters of faith; secondly, whether if such be the case, and he presumes it to be so, if there be any society of men in the world, besides the church of Rome, that can claim to itself, upon titles of the least plausibility, the attribute in question. In a few months the conquest was complete, and Chillingworth renounced both fellowship and country, and hastened to Douay to prepare for a more intimate connexion with the church, whose communion was indispensable to salvation.

But the display, which had charmed him so much when he looked on it as a spectator, vanished very soon when he was admitted behind the scene. He had gone to Douay in order to become initiated in the mysteries of the faith, and not in the trickeries of the priesthood; and though from the kindness with which he was there treated, and the confidence with which he was received, he religiously refused in his after life to make use of the secrets of the seminary itself as the weapons by which it was to be combatted, he obtained, in the course of a few months' visit, an insight into the character of the church of Rome, which was sufficient to convince him of its errors. Had he been filled with a little more enthusiasm, or perhaps with a little more pride, he might have clung to the solemn ceremonies of the church, and in the constant endeavor to defend them against their assailants, have finally incorporated them into his belief. But however extreme may have been his oscillations, he found himself able to subside, after an experience of the internal constitution of both creeds, into a communion, in which, as it was conscientiously entered into, was firmly adhered to. He

returned to London in 1631, and there, from the reputation which he had acquired as a controversialist, and the more doubtful distinction which his various professions had given him, was after a little while regarded as the most prominent champion of the Protestant church. The Jesuits, who had assumed the supervision of the religious disputes of the kingdom, looked upon him as a recreant knight, and in the tournament which was constantly performing before James the First, he was called upon to bear a part in most instances, which placed him in the foremost ranks. It was in the performance of the duty that was thus entailed upon him, in vindication not only of his own sincerity, but of the worthiness of the church which he had adopted, that the work before us was written. Edward Knott, a reasoner in that time of great celebrity, but whose fame would now be lost, unless for the connexion into which it has been thrown with one far greater, had been pitted for some time by the Jesuits against Chillingworth, and had met him more than once in public disputations. He had written, in 1630, a tract which went to prove that Protestantism unrepented was fatal to salvation, and on being answered by Dr. Potter, at that time a prominent dignitary in the church of England, he rejoined with considerable ability, and by throwing down most of his adversary's positions gained the credit of having established as many of his own. Chillingworth was looked to as the one by whom the controversy was to be in future conducted, and in Lord Falkland's seat in Oxfordshire, in the midst of the society which is so charmingly painted by Clarendon in his memoirs, he composed the work that was to close it. In 1638 it was completed; and having, under the title "*The Religion of the Protestants a safe Way to Salvation*," passed safely through the perilous supervision of the most orthodox divines of the day; and having been saved from entire suppression only by their want of unity as to what passages in it were objectionable, it was at last published under the express patronage of the king. "For the attainment of right reasoning," said Mr. Locke, "I should propose the constant reading of Chillingworth, who by his example, will teach both perspicuity and the way of right reasoning, better than any book I know; and therefore will deserve to be read on that account over and over again." Lord Mansfield said, that the vindication of Protestantism was the most perfect specimen of argumentation in this or any other language; and adopted for his own the

character given of Chillingworth by Archbishop Tillotson, that "he was the glory of the age and nation." We shall endeavor in the present paper, to give a brief analysis of a work, which, though it is conceded to be the most able defence of our faith, and has been claimed to be the most powerful argument in our language, had been placed out of reach, like the ancient armor in the tower of London, as if unfit for use, till in the preparation for the controversy which is now agitating the church of England, it was dragged down from its resting place and enlisted into active service.

We have never seen the leading argument of Catholicism so strongly stated, as it is in the treatise to which the work before us is an answer. The poison has been merged in the antidote, and while the friends of the triumphant champion have found no reason to revive it, it has been deserted by those for whose defence it was produced, lest it should carry with it as an inseparable companion, the refutation which it called forth. But the Jesuit was a master of the art of disputation, and as we read the statements which he advances of the grounds on which his church is built, they seem so well laid down, and so strongly supported, that at the time we fear lest the besieger may fail in his attack. The most obnoxious claim of the church of Rome, her infallibility, is displayed as the most powerful argument in her favor. Almighty God has ordained, it is maintained, — and we condense what constitutes the main position with which the schoolman leads forth, — a state of future felicity which is to follow the probation into which we are thrown, and has settled, in his wise providence, competent and convenient means by which that end is to be attained. The grand medium, through which it is to be reached, is by the merits of the Saviour, who founded, as it is assumed, an external and visible church, provided and stored with all those helps which are conducive to salvation. For could God, after so great a sacrifice was performed, leave his creatures in a darkness which was deepened by the disappearance of that splendid orb which was quenched at Calvary? Would not the redemption lose its virtue, when the divine monitor who could enforce it was gone, without leaving behind him a guide by which it could be declared? "Till the end of the world will I be with you," said Christ; but how could he be with his people, since in person he would be no more present, unless he transferred his office to some inferior medium, which thus could

speak in his name? His sheep would wander into far distant paths, among perils from which no hand but his could extricate them; and it would be for that purpose that, when he was gone, he would leave with them a guide in the person of that church which he had specifically constituted, and which he had with his grace inspired. From hence it follows, that in the church, among other advantages, there must be some effectual means to beget and conserve faith, to maintain unity, to discover and condemn heresies, to appease and reduce schisms, and to determine all controversies in religion.

Such is the sum of the reasoning which is spread out in various modifications, as the basis on which the infallibility of the Catholic hierarchy is rested. It was a point most important to those who advanced it, for could it be shown that infallibility was a divinely constituted attribute of the Roman faith, it would have been a heresy most pernicious to have deserted from her camp. Who is there that has not watched the vacillating course of Fenelon, as he wavered from creed to creed, abjuring at one moment what he had maintained at the last, and closing his life with a direct recantation of the tenets which he had during his ministry adhered to? And yet Fenelon was an upright man, and a sincere Christian, who built solemnly his hopes on the prospects which the Gospel opened to him, and who would have sacrificed his life as a testimony of its truth. He had learnt, as the primary doctrine of his faith, that the church was infallible, and that the Pope was its accredited organ; and by the star which had thus been placed before him, he directed his course through rocks and narrows. That favorite theory of perfection, so accordant with his own wise and humane disposition, so natural, we may say, to one who looks both at the mercy of the Creator and the object of the creation, had been the faith of his youth and of his manhood; he had preached it, he had practised it; and whether in the splendor of the court of Louis the Fourteenth, or the solitude of Cambray, had framed his life on the unerring model which it afforded. But perfectionism was too startling to those who saw Rome in its corruption, and Paris in its folly; and the French bishops united with the cardinals of Italy in requesting the Pope to pronounce as heretical a doctrine which they had proved to be absurd. Fenelon stood in his pulpit as the messenger came, who brought him the papal bull which denounced his creed; he had laid before him an exposition of the mooted point, which he had intended as the subject to which

his discourse would be directed, but he placed his sermon quietly aside, when he read the edict of the church, and from that moment not a word escaped him in his justification; he acknowledged the heresy; he bowed to the authority which pronounced it, and preached as constantly, if not as fervently, the opposite tenets, as those which he had so long borne witness to. Could a stronger instance be shown of the centralizing influence which the pretension of infallibility would give the church? I bow, might have said Fenelon, not to the Pope, but to the God who sent him. Through the obscure medium of the hierarchy I can see the clear and equal light of unerring wisdom. God has often been pleased, in that vast machinery of beneficence which he has placed in motion, to make use of the meanest instruments for the performance of his highest ends. I yield to his commands; it is not for me to choose through what medium they shall be brought home to me. Luther, had he been arrested on his road to Worms, by a prohibition as decisive as that which checked Fenelon in his course, would have heeded it as little as he had the previous admonition with which he had been met. But if he could have been satisfied it was God who spoke, — had a miracle, like that which appeared to Paul on his way to Damascus, started up in his path, — he would have bowed himself to its commands as implicitly as Fenelon had before the Pope, and have returned to his familiar monastery, to work out in submission the course from which he had turned with disgust. They both agreed in an implicit obedience to God's will when ascertained; the question, on which they differed, was as to whom they should look upon as the organ through which it was to be pronounced. Luther viewed Scripture as the sole expositor of faith; Fenelon invested the church with the power of interpretation, and with the attribute of infallibility in the decisions to which it should arrive.

We have gone out of our path, we fear, in endeavoring to throw out in relief, the point at issue in the controversy before us. Is it necessary for the preservation of the faith, that there should be an authority invested with the province of infallibly deciding on matters of doctrine? Is the church of Rome the arbiter thus selected? We proceed to notice, as distinctly as their character will allow, the positions which were advanced by Chillingworth in overthrow of those, which were the chief reliance of his antagonist. To do justice to the character of the

argument which he brought forward, or to the rigor with which he maintained it, is a task which becomes impossible, both from the extent and the completeness of its subject. We shall confine ourselves, therefore, within bounds, which, if we transgressed, we should be cast irrevocably from our moorings, and content ourselves with giving a diagram of the points which are proved, rather than a sketch of the demonstration which proved them.

It was conceded at the outset, that, from the time of Christ downwards, there had been a church visible upon earth, which was stored with means sufficient to keep its members in the faith, and in the knowledge of those great doctrines of religion, which the Author of that religion had come to establish. Would he have left his disciples, after the sacrifice of his death was accomplished, without means sufficient to preserve them from the errors which it was meant to remedy? The Gospel had been delivered, it is true, as a summary of the doctrines which Christ preached, and the Gospel was acknowledged, on all sides, to be the substantial foundation, on which the faith was based. But it was maintained by the Jesuit, that Scripture alone could not be a judge in controversies, because, in the first place, in common with all other writings whatever, it has not the power by itself to decide a question that is brought up before it, but needs an authorized judge to interpret it; because, secondly, it can never determine how much of itself is authentic, but requires the Church, as its authorized guardian, to step in, and decide what books are canonical, and which are supposititious; and lastly, because, from the necessity of its translation, and the impossibility of its exact transfer from language to language, it becomes the source of continual discord, which nothing but the decision of a court, which should be supreme in matters of faith, can allay. The fragment of Chillingworth's argument in reply, which we transfer to our pages, vindicates, to all necessary purposes, the adaptation of Scripture to the object, for which it was given.

"We acknowledge (say you) Scripture to be a perfect rule, forasmuch as a writing can be a rule; only we deny, that it excludes unwritten tradition. As if you should have said, we acknowledge it to be as perfect a rule as writing can be; only we deny it to be as perfect a rule as writing may be. Either, therefore, you must revoke your acknowledgment, or retract your retraction of it; for both cannot possibly stand together.

For if you will stand to what you have granted, that Scripture is as perfect a rule of faith as a writing can be; you must then grant it both so complete, that it needs no addition, and so evident, that it needs no interpretation; for both these qualities are requisite to a perfect rule, and a writing is capable of both these properties.

“That both these properties are requisite to a perfect rule, it is apparent; because that is not perfect in any kind, which wants some parts belonging to its integrity; as he is not a perfect man, that wants any part appertaining to the integrity of a man; and, therefore, that which wants any accession to make it a perfect rule, of itself is not a perfect rule. And then, the end of a rule is to regulate and direct. Now every instrument is more or less perfect in its kind, as it is more or less fit to attain the end for which it is ordained; but nothing obscure or inevident, while it is so, is fit to regulate and direct them to whom it is so; therefore, it is requisite also to a rule, (so far as it is a rule,) to be evident; otherwise, indeed, it is no rule, because it cannot serve for direction. I conclude, therefore, that both these properties are required to a perfect rule; both to be so complete as to need no addition; and to be so evident, as to need no interpretation.

“Now, that a writing is capable of both these perfections it is so plain, that I am even ashamed to prove it. For he that denies it, must say, that something may be spoken, which can not be written. For if such a complete and evident rule of faith may be delivered by word of mouth, as you pretend it may and is; and whatsoever is delivered by word of mouth, may also be written; then such a complete and evident rule of faith may also be written. If you will have more light added to the sun, answer me then these questions; whether your church can set down in writing all these, which she pretends to be divine, unwritten traditions, and add them to the verities already written? And whether she can set us down such interpretations of all obscurities in the faith as shall need no farther interpretations? If she cannot, then she hath not that power, which you pretend she hath, of being an infallible teacher of divine verities, and an infallible teacher of obscurities in the faith. If she can, let her do it, and then we shall have a writing, not only capable of, but actually endowed with, both these perfections, of being so complete as to need no addition, and so evident as to need no interpretation. Lastly, whatsoever your church can do or not do, no man can, without blasphemy, deny that Christ Jesus, if he had pleased, could have writ as a rule of faith so plain and perfect, as that it should have wanted neither any part, to make up

its integrity, nor any clearness, to make it sufficiently intelligible. And if Christ could have done this, then the thing might have been done; a writing there might have been, endowed with both these properties. Thus, therefore, I conclude; a writing may be so perfect a rule as to need neither addition or interpretation; but the Scripture you acknowledge a perfect rule, forasmuch as a writing can be a rule, therefore it needs neither addition nor interpretation." — pp. 108, 109.

The assumption, that the Catholic church was the authorized interpreter of Scripture being overthrown, the charge of heresy, which was made against the reformers from their refusal to obey its dictates, lost the chief portion of its efficacy. When the claim, which the Pope put forth to infallibility, was disproved, he lost at once the commanding attitude, in which he before was placed. He must prove his tenets, not by a reference to the supreme authority by which they were pronounced, but by a distinct demonstration of their own worth. Such an examination as would thus be necessary, it was by no means the object of his missionaries to court. Their plan was to carry the war into the enemy's country; not to suffer it to devastate their own. They burned to pursue the attack, when they found that the doctrine of infallibility could no more be pressed, in a quarter in which, from the loftiness of their position, they expected to obtain advantages, which elsewhere could not be found; and since they could no longer prove the reformers to be heretics, because they denied the supremacy of the Pope, they endeavored to fasten upon them the charge of schism, because they had separated from the hierarchy. They looked back to the earliest periods of Christianity, and traced from thence an unbroken chain of priests and bishops, who had maintained the forms, if they had not preserved the purity, of the Church which Christ had founded. They showed that the church had existed unbroken under the persecutions of the Roman Empire; that when it had crept from the side of the Jordan to the banks of the Dardanelles, when it had passed upwards from the fisherman's hut till it reached the emperor's palace, it had maintained its unity and order through all the temptations of prosperity, and through all the perils of power; and that at last, when, on the destruction of the Eastern empire, it was cast from its imperial supremacy, and thrown out once more to encounter the persecutions of unbelievers, it remained uninjured by schism, and reached before long a position of spiritual authority, more

lofty than it had enjoyed in the greatest prosperity of the Constantines. The Church, from the beginning, they could prove, had been Catholic ; and to separate from her limits, as long as she was such, was schism. It required, therefore, but the ordinary process of a syllogism, to demonstrate that the Protestants were schismatics.

It was not, however, separation, merely, it was argued by Chillingworth, but only a causeless separation from the established church, that constituted the sin. For would not the most shameless heresy vanish, if men were unable to throw it off by a secession from the church that adopted it? Suppose that the Pope should deny the efficacy of a state of rewards and punishments hereafter ; would it be schism to oppose his creed, or to remove from his authority ? And had he not gone almost as far, by selling the title papers to heaven to those who could bid the highest ? To leave the Church, also, and to leave the external communion of a church, is not the same thing ; since those, who have received the faith of the Gospel, are Christians under its provisions ; and unless they apostatize, remain so, though they may spend their lifetime in shifting from one persuasion to another. And, when we consider the circumstances under which the reformation was accomplished, we may have room to doubt, whether the Protestants, when they left the outward communion of the papacy, did not carry the ark of the covenant with them. The court of Rome had become the theatre of the most profane and licentious extravagancies. The episcopal supervision of the Pope was merged in his temporal supremacy. He employed the short term of his pontificate in stripping his dominions for his children, while his spiritual prerogatives were sold to increase the spoil. That awful curse, which was pronounced on those who should sell the offices of the priesthood for gold, was resting on the head of the hierarchy ; and in the desperation to which it was finally reduced, it threw off the remains of decency which it had till then preserved, and justified, by the heresies which it adopted, the secession which was soon to take place. Where was the missionary of the apostolic see ? Those cardinal measures, which the Church in its hour of greatest distress had insisted upon, were deserted in the hour of its greatest prosperity ; and the task of converting the heathen was left undone, in order to increase the prey that was to be devoured by the nephews of the reigning Pope. The Dominican priest, who had made it his pride to

be the foremost among the preachers in the lands which were still in darkness, became the tax-gatherer of the holy see in those on whom its light had shone. Indulgences were hawked about the towns of France and Germany, and the lord paramount, who laid claim to the entire possession of the heavenly kingdom, parcelled it out in tracts of various dimensions, to those whose purses could outbalance their sins. It was against the abuses of the papacy that Luther fought, and not against the principles of the Church. The altar itself he continued to reverence; it was from the communion of the priests that served it, that he seceded. The design of the Protestants was peaceably to reform, and not forcibly to tear asunder; but before they could bring to bear the measures which they had proposed, they were prevented from pressing them, by an excommunication from the councils of the Church. It was on the Catholics, and not on the Protestants, that the reproach of schism should rest.

We might pursue the argument of Chillingworth still farther, and cover not only the material positions which it advanced, but the reasoning, by which they were supported. We must remember, that the controversy was caused by assumptions on the part of the Catholic church, which, if admitted, would have placed the Protestants themselves in the light of heretics and schismatics. The relative merits of the rival creeds were not brought into discussion. The question simply was, whether Scripture alone should be looked to as the expositor of God's revealed will, or whether the flood-gates of tradition should be opened, and those simple land-marks, which in the sacred volume are so easily distinguished, be overwhelmed by the legends of the fathers, and the decisions of the Church. Is the Christian to look for his guide to God himself, or to the church-militant upon earth?

The Protestant creed was based upon the principle, that God's revelation alone was to be made the expositor of faith. In its earlier stages, when, from the active influence of the first reformers, it would have been difficult for it to retrograde, it overthrew the established religion in one half of its dominion. The Lutheran preacher went forth with his bible in his hand, in that simple majesty, which the justice of his doctrines gave him; and it was not long before the party-colored champion of the papacy found his balance lost. But in a little while, as the new church became entangled in the civil establishments of the day, and surrendered herself to them as an engine of political

advancement, she lost the lofty bearing which she first assumed. She had started forth in alliance with the natural rights of mankind ; she had made common part with the oppressed, and strove with them against the tyrant who sought to crush them both ; but in the intemperance of success, she neglected her early allies, and sought to preserve, through the means of despotism, what she had obtained under the name of freedom. Men grow less anxious as to the moral arguments by which their measures are to be supported, when they can back them by the bayonet, or the stake ; and the Protestant establishment of Great Britain, in the security of its foundation, lost sight of those cardinal principles, on which it was founded. It is from thence we are to trace those measures of imprudence and oppression, that tore asunder the Reformed Church. Archbishop Laud was not a Romanist, for he had refused a cardinal's hat ; but he was not a Protestant, for he had deserted the reformed doctrines ; and the flood of new opinions, which he let into the Church, could only be supported by a recurrence to the broad foundations, on which Catholicism should rest. Why should the sign of the cross be essential to baptism ? Or why, to rise higher, should the ceremonies of episcopal ordination be essential to the validity of a church ? It was from the evidence of tradition, that the new tenets were supported, and not from the testimony of Scripture ; while those who taught them, as soon as they had lifted their foot from the rock on which their faith was founded, and placed it on the shifting sands of the legends of the fathers, found themselves carried away at once into absurdities, from which there was no retreat. How could they battle against the Romanists, when they conceded their chief position ? " I look back," said Laud on the scaffold, " to two instances of men whom I have converted from papacy ; they may be all, but if all, they may be enough. The Duke of Buckingham I brought over, and Chillingworth I brought back." But those two instances, prominent as they are, form but a tittle in proportion to the swarms that were carried over to the Church of Rome, through the false preaching that was adopted on the Protestant side. Had James the Second's reign occurred but a little later, or, perhaps, but a little earlier, either when the conversions to Romanism had reached their farthest limit, or when the earlier converts were seivered with the enthusiasm of fresh apostacy, he might have continued to remain a Catholic king over a divided nation.

It is not our purpose to illustrate the evils of half-way reformation. Yet it might be said to those who would seem scarcely to hold communion in our faith, were it not that they assumed the privilege of wounding it as friends, — “ You stand on the farthest verge of the camp ; take care lest, in the waverings of your subtle neutrality, you open its gates to the enemy. We ask you to march under our own banners ; if you cannot do this, we ask you to fight against us, under the banners of our foe. Why do you subject us to the reproach of clinging to the idols we have deserted ? Why do you hang, as you would to your soul’s good, on vestments and postures, to prostrations and to crossings, to the cast-off finery of the popedom ? If you are with us in heart, if you rest in the word of God as your authority, and not in the fables of the fathers, or the decisions of the Pope, let not the trifling irritation of ceremonial difference fester in your heart. It is now, that we should as brothers come together, as brothers forsake the individual toys about which we may have differed, lest, like the rods which were snapped while they lay apart, we be destroyed before our union be cemented.”

We may have dwelt on an exploded danger. We think that the deep-laid train and the well-stored magazine, that were formed by the joint ingenuity of Catholic priests and Protestant apostates, will fail of its effect. The storm of Oxford divinity, which was to have shaken the citadel itself, is vanishing without a blast. But, from the opposite quarters of the horizon, there are arising dangers, which are spreading and swelling, far more quietly, and yet far more prosperously, than those which were fomented by the Oxford professors. The extravagant imaginations of the Saxe-Weimar poet, and the false reasoning of the Prussian metaphysician have gone forth from their original circle, and after tainting the sphere on which they first acted with their poison, have spread it among the philosophers and theologians of their land. Mephistophiles no longer wastes his eloquence on a solitary student. He has thrown aside those dusty robes, in which his spirit so long was gathered, and before the preacher in his pulpit, or the student in his chamber, in the light of surpassing wisdom, has presented himself. The mind which once contented itself to receive from the gospel itself the word of life, courts now the visits of those unnatural excitements, which it transforms into the movements of heavenly wisdom. It looks to the Almighty himself for the intimations of his will,

it magnifies the swellings of emotion into the action of his spirit, and worships, consequently, whatever deity the peculiar constitution of its mind may set forth. Were we all philosophers, gifted with those delicate susceptibilities, which could enable us to seize hold of a moral conviction as it rises in the mind, and to pursue it to the full ; and were we possessed of that habitual self-command, which enables us to reduce our passions within limit without the aid which a distinct revelation from God must afford, we might dispense with the Scripture itself, and rest once more on our oars, in the belief, that in our own consciousness of right, we had a sufficient light to guide our path. But how many are they, who will stray even when the cloud and the pillar of flame stand before them. How few are there, who, even with the lens which the Gospel affords, can see distinctly those shadowy objects, which the naked eye of the philosopher discovers. We require a substantial creed, on which to found our faith, and we require a creed which rests on plain external evidence. The peasant, who is met with the alternative of transcendentalism or popery, will choose the latter. He will snatch, when in the sea of doubt, at the horns of the monster, but not at the voidness of the phantom. Protestantism, on the continent of Europe, has retrograded, because on the continent Protestantism is no longer Christianity.

It has been said, that by the adopting of a fixed, unelastic rule, such as that which the Scripture affords, we will check the progress of our race. We believe, we may answer, that it was to the adoption of the Gospel as a rule of faith, that the great advancement of mankind is due. Take the Reformation as the era in which it began to bear its just influence, and watch the steps which were made under its auspices, not only in civilization, but in humanity. We have made great progress, it will be at once acknowledged, in our march onward ; like the pilgrim to the East, we have passed the sandy deserts, and the deceitful marshes that were spread before us ; we have approached to the regions of Araby the blest, and already the reflection of the coming glory is crowning the tops of the distant mountains. But when the consummation which we pray for is reached, we shall recognise in the features, which it will develop, the same that were laid down in the Gospel, as the limits to which our faith was to be directed. Were the Gospel a human institution, we would consent that it should bend and be set aside whenever it jars with the particular constitution of the times. But it comes from the

same hand that shaped the heavens ; and the philosopher, who should object to its provisions because they do not harmonize with his individual theories, should meet with the same credit as the astronomer, who rails at the splendid economy of the worlds that hang over him, because he cannot reach the springs on which they move. How wild did the exposition of Galileo seem to the court of Rome ! And yet, even still wilder would those maxims which forbid the retaliation of injury have appeared to the consular ambition of the Cæsars. We observe, that each step we take in the path of true reform brings us nearer to the model which is there proposed ; we are justified in concluding, even from our past experience alone, that when the system is perfected, we shall find, that what once appeared to be a string of visionary suggestions, becomes the code on which the universe will be governed. The consummate structure, which was erected by our Saviour during his ministry among us, has stood to the present hour, untouched by the innovations of the passing day, but proved and recommended the more strongly, by every revolution to which it has been subjected. It has been left for the wisdom of this generation, to acknowledge at the same time its divine origin, and to set aside its divine authority. It would be better to do away with the dispensation altogether, than to deck it with the semblance of royalty, while its commands are superseded.

The cause of the Reformed Church is so allied to the cause of our safety and the cause of our freedom, that we have felt ourselves at liberty to enlarge more freely than our subject might seem to require, on the dangers which she has conquered, and the dangers, to which she is exposed. Under the supervision of that great hand, which has carried her from the place of bondage, we trust she may continue to be guided, till her feet are bathed by the rivers of the promised land.

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ART. III. — *The Ecclesiastical and Political History of the Popes of Rome, during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.* By LEOPOLD RANKE, Professor in the University of Berlin. *Translated from the German, by SARAH AUSTIN.* 2 vols. 8vo. Philadelphia. 1841.

THERE are several subjects of historical interest, concerning which our information is very meagre, because the most laborious students and authors, when engaged upon them, have found but scanty materials. But more frequently, amidst a great abundance of materials, subjects of equal interest have been neglected, from a hasty supposition, that their treatment has been anticipated, and their interest exhausted in the numerous histories of other matters, closely connected with them in date, character, or details. The great epochs, in the religious and political annals of the world, are illustrated at length over and over again in new histories, and in compilations. But the transition and connecting periods are often wholly neglected. Great pains are taken to define accurately the height and the location of the summits, and to mark out with precision the boundary lines, but the intervening spaces are left unexplored. The prominent events in the world's history monopolize the interest of writers and readers; both classes lack the patience to follow out consequences, to study into the feelings, the actions, the reflections of any two parties, when they retire from the decisive engagement, which has tried their full strength. As an example of this, take the period of Jewish and Christian history immediately following the destruction of the temple and city of Jerusalem. How little do we know concerning the subsequent relations, the controversies and struggles of the two parties. We are familiar with the issue which divided them. We know what Judaism thought, said, and did against Christianity, when first opposed by the infant religion. We know what Christianity answered, and how it resisted. The war decided defeat to one, triumph to the other, and we have rested in the conclusion, that Christianity was left to begin a glorious career with a proud success, and that Judaism, branded with ignominy, stricken at its core and at its roots, was given over to a slow death. The interest of the decisive struggle was supposed to have anticipated or exhausted the interest of the detail of its consequences. But we know, that the struggle was continued,

and the present position of religious philosophy attaches importance to the question, how and with what weapons the contest went on. We would know, on what ground Judaism took its stand, how it reorganized its ranks, how it won back a few of its first deserters, how it found in its many synagogues something which supplied the loss of its one temple, and in the unconquerable fellow feeling of the race, when scattered over the world, discovered a natural outlet for that pride of heart, which was formerly centred upon the city of its faith. Of particulars like these we are almost entirely ignorant.

The book, the title of which we have given above, suggests to us another instance of the deficiency of our knowledge concerning a period and a subject of history, which, from their close connexion with a great epoch, have been comparatively neglected. The Reformation, as it began in the different countries of Europe, and progressed till it dashed into atoms, and crumbled in the dust, the gigantic fabric of Romanism, is the subject of countless volumes of all sizes, from the black-ribbed folio to the child's picture book. This subject is probably better understood than any other historical event, by the generality of readers. But, with a knowledge of the decisive struggle, our interest and information appear to stop. We have wished that some one would gather up for us the fragments, which will fill a larger space than the undivided materials. This is precisely that service which Professor Ranke has performed. He takes up the religious history of Europe after the great schism, and undertakes to solve the two important problems, first, how Catholicism and Protestantism, when the first general confusion of their strife was over, obtained their well defined and systematized distinctions, which made them forever irreconcilable; secondly, how Catholicism, revived and reinvigorated by the use of some of its hidden energies, in a measure reinstated itself, triumphed for a time, and then was hopelessly vanquished. These two problems bear close relations to the religion and politics of our own time. The period of history which they embrace has an intense interest. Even the sixteenth century alone, the half of the subject-matter, is crowded with the narratives of events, which are scarcely yet worn away from the living memory of Europe. It was a dreadful, yet a glittering century, filled with catastrophes and bathed in blood. It comprises leagues and concordats, which, extending over the whole of Europe, promised benefit to one nation, and threatened ruin to another, by

turns, each in succession ; the conquest of the Turks ; the expeditions to the Indies and to South America ; the rise of the Jesuits ; the Council of Trent ; the schism of England, and the accession of Elizabeth ; the wars, the wide empire, and the abdication of Charles the Fifth ; the contests between the confederated and the imperial powers ; St. Bartholomew's night, with its awful massacre ; the assassination of Henry the Third, and the conversion of Henry the Fourth. These are but the leading titles to chapters of the history of the sixteenth century, and that of the next century is a full appendix of ferments, struggles, and dying convulsions, with other forms of life and action springing out of the ashes of the past. Professor Ranke is the first author who has given a complete, and in the main, a perfectly accurate narrative of the events of these periods. Before examining the contents of his volumes, let us say a word in reference to the sources of information, which we previously possessed on the same subject. Lives of the Popes, individually and collectively, are very numerous, if we search them out from the large mass of literature, in the history and criticism of the fine arts, of theological dogmas, and of political revolutions. But in the exclusive province of biography, we have but few lives of the Roman pontiffs individually, and of the works which treat of them in successive order, we know of but three. The Abbot, Anastasius, Librarian of the Vatican, Secretary and Chancellor of the Church of Rome, who was one of the most learned men of his age, and who died in 867, composed brief memoirs of the Roman bishops to Nicholas the First, in four folios ; Baptista Platina, a native of Cremona, a Breviary to the Pope, a learned and distinguished man, whose courageous opposition to Paul the Second brought upon him a deprivation of his preferments and imprisonment, but whom Sixtus the Sixth set at liberty and favored till he died, in 1481, wrote the lives of the Popes up to his own time. He enjoyed peculiar opportunities for his work, as Sixtus the Fourth gave him the care of the Vatican Library. His volume was translated into English, and continued to the time of Innocent the Eleventh, by Sir Paul Rycaut. This work is interesting, and it is generally allowed to be correct. English readers have heretofore derived most of their knowledge of the line of Roman pontiffs from the seven quarto volumes of Archibald Bower. He was born of a Catholic family in Scotland, educated at Douay and Rome, and admitted into the society of the Jesuits. He professed, and no doubt with sincerity, to have become a

convert to Protestantism, and coming to England, he there pursued the Biography of the Popes, which he had begun in Rome. Owing to some pecuniary transactions which he had with Jesuit bankers in London, and some underhanded opposition to the work, upon which he was engaged, his character for integrity, religion, and virtue was brought into question. He was even charged by Protestants with being a Jesuit. Dr. Douglass, author of the "*Criterion*," joined in the feeling, and even wrote against him. The controversy excited great interest at the time, nearly a century since, and involved much party feeling and many literary men. Horace Walpole often mentions Bower, and his *Lives of the Popes*, in his *Letters*. Archdeacon Blackburne was also interested in the matter, and he thought, that Bower's widow fully substantiated his integrity and his good character. There are signs of impartiality in his volumes, but generally Bower, like all converts, treats with severity the company which he deserted. Under his pen no iniquitous deed or evil character of a Roman pontiff escapes, and in general, the volumes of Ranke are far more lenient and mitigated in their censures.

Our author, then, has really made a new and most valuable addition to this department of literature. He supposes his readers to possess much previous information on the subjects which he treats, and often makes only a slight allusion to some of the most important influences and incidents. He sets up in his Preface a claim, which, in these days, is quite unusual, that of having used materials hitherto unknown, and in many cases inaccessible, if known, to former writers. He has not only examined the public libraries of Vienna, Berlin, and Venice, but has had access to many most valuable private collections. He tells us, that it was the almost universal custom in Venice, for the great families to preserve in their libraries a collection of manuscript documents relating to the affairs of state, in which they had been engaged; that, though many of these are lost, some still remain in their original archives, and some are gathered in the library of St. Mark's. Among these documents, he thinks the most important to his purpose are the reports of the Venetian ambassadors and special envoys at the court of Rome. These officials transmitted regular accounts of every matter of interest that transpired, though, of course, the hasty and one-sided view which they presented, does, to some extent, affect their value. On their return, they presented more

methodical documents concerning their mission. In Venice the author collected, in all, forty-eight Reports on Rome, the earliest bearing the date of the year 1500. In Rome, the great public archives were, of course, closed against a foreigner and a heretic. Secrets are there hidden, which not even a friend may tell. Professor Ranke, however, is right in asserting, that "no investigation can bring to light anything worse than the assumptions of groundless conjecture, or than those rumors, which the world now receives as true." There are private collections in Rome, more complete and valuable in the documents which he most desired, than the Vatican. In the palaces of the great families, the Borghese, the Doria, the Barberini, the Chigi, the Altieri, the Albani, and the Corsini, who have all of them, in turn, been relations of the reigning popes, he found such authentic materials as the following; correspondences of the Nuntiaturæ, with the accompanying instructions, and the reports, which were brought back; lives of several popes, written in great detail, and with all the freedom of communications not intended to meet the public eye; lives of distinguished cardinals; official and private journals; reports concerning the provinces, their trade, manufactures, statistical tables, income, and expenditure. It is but fair, however, that we should inform our readers, that in the Catholic notices of Professor Ranke's work, the value of some of his materials is disputed; the information which he has drawn from some of them is said, in some cases, to be found more complete in works, which we already possess, and he is charged with having overlooked some printed volumes, which would have been of service to him.

As to the historical fairness, the candor and charity of the author, we should think there could be but one opinion. Though a Protestant, he feels no enmity, he fears no evil, personal or social, which should bias his opinions. He regards the interest of the Papacy now as confined to its historical development, and its former influence; it inspires in him neither anxiety nor dread; all fears concerning it are over; we feel perfectly secure against its power. The author thinks an Italian and a Catholic would have set about the work in a spirit different from his, but he calmly insists, that his passions have not even been roused by his labors, and that he has been "enabled to maintain the indifference so essential to an historian." The manner in which his work has been received by different par-

ties is a lively commentary on his honest disclosure of his feelings and intentions. Scholars in different parts of Europe have lauded the literary interest, the persevering industry, the calm and clear narrative, and the striking portraiture of the volumes. The Evangelicals on the continent and in Great Britain have compared the characters which he has given with great mildness and discrimination of the Roman Church and her high dignitaries, with the rabid and sour invectives of the "No Popery" Books, and have accused the author of being a liberal, a neologist, and an infidel. A remarkable compliment was paid to the book by a French Catholic, who was at pains to translate it, and with some alterations to suit the taste of its new readers, to offer it for study and circulation among the Jesuits, as on the whole a fair exhibition of a story, whose two sides were never brought so near together before. The translation in our hands was undertaken by Mrs. Austin, with the approval, and completed with the high praise of the author. Her labor is so happily performed, that we should not know that we were reading his work in language so different from the original. As we have already said, the volumes are devoted to an exhibition of the great men, the great epochs, and the great events of that period, which presented Catholicism and Protestantism with their antagonist ranks, in open systematic warfare, and which witnessed the revival and partial triumph, and the everlasting defeat of the elder faith. We shall presume to draw a brief sketch of the large and complete picture. It is fortunate for us and for our readers, that the author's style and arrangement, his concise but vivid delineations, and his striking portraits, will allow us to use his own language, even when we consult brevity.

He devotes but a few preliminary pages to the first fifteen centuries of Christian history. It was when one universal empire had bound together, under a common law of political influence, the various independent tribes and nations, which the earliest annals of the world present to us as clustering around the borders of the Mediterranean, that one universal faith was offered to bind into one fold the millions of worshippers, who before had bowed down to as many deities, and cherished as many different religious rites as they used languages or dialects. Rome effected alike the political and religious union. It had first brought together the gods of all the conquered nations, and freely allowed the different homage which it pleased each of

their worshippers to offer. Paganism thus tended rather to sever than to unite the hearts of its votaries. It offered them no common object of belief or reverence. It contained no element, which could be transfused alike into all minds. It could do nothing to secure the overgrown empire from dismemberment. Christianity came just in time to create one feeling in many hearts, which, when wars and disunion had done their worst, should be a tie, however feeble, to bind its disciples once more in society, and to prevent their being scattered among fields and mountains as roving agriculturists, or savage freebooters. Ranke allows one paragraph to the personal character and history of the author of this religion.

The ecclesiastical constitution, which was early adopted, was formed on the model of the imperial constitution. Each provincial capital conferred dignity on its elder, or bishop. How much more, then, would Rome, without even the pretence of Scripture authority, secure for the spiritual head of its believers honor and influence. As the seat of empire, the city where martyrs had preached and suffered, and whereby they slept in their bloody graves, the city where some of the fiercest persecutions had found the most renowned and faithful victims, and where, above all, appeals were often brought in the early disputes of the Church, Rome would claim an uncontested prerogative of superiority. And even when this prerogative was contested, as by Constantinople, the very moment that Rome offered even unasked advice, it had become too late to urge an objection with full success. Theodosius the Great and Valentinian the Third laid the foundation for the papal authority. Just as Christianity had begun to change the face of things, and to affect the hearts of men, and at the precise moment when the see of Rome urged its first pretensions by truly spiritual interference, the empire was dismembered. The Church sustained a fearful shock ; but it survived calamities which obliterated the landmarks of ages, and broke into atoms the proud dynasties and institutions of centuries. The dissensions between the Christians of Rome and Constantinople, in the controversy respecting images, divided even the little company of believers. The Lombards in Italy founded a kingdom at the very gates of Rome. The Arabs pushed their conquests, and ruled the whole Mediterranean coast. In this exigency, unexpected aid came to befriend the Church.

Rome had sent her missionaries beyond the Alps to convert

the Anglo-Saxons, and other northern nations, and she had made them thoroughly Catholic, reverencing their adopted mother with the first fresh effort of their piety. Under the house of the Pepins, afterwards named the Carlovingian race, the Germanic tribes of the West, bound in close friendship with Rome, enabled her to make decisive resistance against the Moslems. When the Eastern empire, the old and well nigh equal antagonist of Rome, was finally crippled and enfeebled, the Western capital seized the fortunate moment, and by merely advancing her claims when there was no longer a rival to contest them, she obtained that reverence which habit afterwards made easy and natural. The popes, or fathers, as faithful and grateful believers began to name their Christian bishops, contracted a close alliance with the Frankish captains. Pepin the Younger wished to have the name, as well as the power of a king, and this, and no more, was just what the Pope had power to grant. The king, in return, pledged himself to befriend the Pope, "the Holy Church, and the republic of God" against the Lombards. He seated the Roman bishop in the chair of St. Peter, and laid the keys of conquered cities upon the high altar of the Apostle. The friendly alliance was continued by a reciprocity of good offices. Thus originated the claim, which ages afterwards became so stupendous, so awful, that it was sacrilege, to question it only in thought. In all the malicious tricks and deceptions which the tempting fiend played against Luther, no one seems at first to have caused such torment to the monk, as when he felt the first prompting to question the awful prerogatives of the Bishop of Rome. Yet it was this reciprocity of aid between a simple ecclesiastic and a partisan freebooter, which laid the badge of spiritual power at the feet of the Bishop of Rome.

Charlemagne afterwards, crowned with fame and conquest, gave the last blow to the Lombard rule, united nearly all the Romano-Germanic tribes or nations, went to Rome, kissed the steps of St. Peter's, clasped hands with the bishop, ratified the allowance of Pepin, and on Christmas eve, 800, the grateful Pope, Leo the Third, placed on the proud head of the conqueror the crown of the Western Empire. Thus was consummated a result, which, in itself trivial, and brought about by many little accidents, fortuitously combined in their influence, was in its consequences and its superinduced effects, to exercise more influence on the States of Europe for a thousand years, than the formation or the disunion of the Roman Empire.

In the tenth and the eleventh centuries, the Frankish Empire had crumbled away, and the German had arisen in full energy. The German name was omnipotent. Under Conrad the Second, the empire was one, perfect and complete, and there was a large ecclesiastical element in its union, in the causes of its adhesion, and of its supremacy. But the right of nominating bishops, soon after the cause of strife, then rested wholly with the monarchs. In the disorders of the empire, under the minority of Henry the Fourth, the daring Hildebrand, Gregory the Seventh, shook the constitution to its base, by first proposing the independence of the Church, and by stripping the emperor of his ancient privilege of ecclesiastical appointment. Centuries of doubtful and bloody struggle at last confirmed the proud claim, which, as that bold monk uttered it amid the rude and warlike barons of northern Europe, sounded to them as the reckless insolence of one, whose spirit to do what he purposed, they at the time knew not. In the beginning of the twelfth century, Prior Gerohus ventured to say, "It will come to pass, that the golden pillars of the monarchy will be utterly shattered, and every great empire will be divided into hierarchies; not till then will the Church be free and unfettered under the protecting care of the great crowned priest." That the foundation of what in after ages became such a stupendous fabric of power, violently usurped and exercised with fearful severity, was not laid in simple Christian innocence, we may well assure ourselves, without formal proof being adduced to the fact. After our author has traced the popedom, building itself by united cunning, fraud and usurpation, upon the ruins and dissensions of conflicting empires, he gives us a strong contrast between the elements of piety, and the feelings of pride and worldliness then working in the bosom of the Catholic Church.

And now, at the very moment that the papal power was thus consolidated, that it began in a measure to trust in itself, and to find disciples to recognise and maintain it, schisms and factions took their rise over the whole of Europe, from the first exercise of the Roman prerogatives. We begin now to read of antipopes, of two, three, and seven claimants to the chair of St. Peter, while no one of them offered a claim which the Apostle would have recognised. The ecclesiastical influence in Europe, and the spirit of obedience which it excited, were already weakened by the shameful dissensions at the very altar of the faith. When blood was shed by the rival factions for the place of

God's vicegerent on earth, it was scarcely strange that the disciples of intriguing monks, who were at the same time the members of political factions, should begin to question the right of any one to the power which they would have allowed much longer, had it been well used. Attacks had already been made upon the papal supremacy. Each new historian of those times seems to carry the first impulse and movement for reform farther back into the dark ages. While monarchs and people were thus curtailing the privileges of the popes, it is remarkable, that they themselves began to be exclusively occupied with temporal concerns. Forsaking that high office, in the exercise of which, though the age was dark and barbarous, they would have gained an indissoluble hold upon the hearts of the simple and the warlike, they voluntarily encroached upon that ground which invited attack, and exposed the weaker party. An orator in the Council of Basle said, "Formerly I was of opinion, that it would be well to separate the temporal entirely from the spiritual power; but I have learned, that virtue without force is ludicrous; that the Pope of Rome, without the hereditary possessions of the Church, is only the servant of kings and princes." This speech, and the influence of its author over the council, determined the election of Pope Felix, and the orator was likewise so accommodating as to admit, that there was no harm in a pope's having sons to take part with him against tyrants. It was, however, generally allowed to be not in good taste for a pope to have children, seeing that when he entered upon priest's vows he pledged himself to celibacy and chastity. However, when he happened to have sons, it was more in accordance with the time and his character, to call them his nephews. Nephews, at least, a pope was sure to have; very rarely, we will hope, was the name misapplied. But the children of brothers and sisters invariably presented themselves in Rome at the election of an uncle as the sovereign pontiff, and claimed from him the highest offices of power and trust. If there was but one nephew, he was made a cardinal, and was thus put upon the line of promotion in his own person to the supreme dignity. If there were more than one, one was endowed with enormous revenues, raised to the highest secular dignity, put at the helm of political affairs, married to a princess, and left to become the head of a noble family, who should never cease to exercise authority in church and state. Hence have sprung the princes of modern

Rome, whose descendants now starve over the memory of ancestral honors, and while their servants peddle out for them the butter and wine from their estates, scorn to fix their eyes upon a common mortal. With wealth thus acquired from the coffers of the state, and squandered by a few nobles, while the most pinching extortions were inflicted upon the suffering people, those gigantic palaces were erected in Rome, whose picture galleries contain such rare treasures of art. The word "nepotism," coined to designate this unlimited favoritism of the popes to members of their own family, is of tenfold more use in unravelling the secrets of those times, than the word religion. The shameful practices which were introduced by this favoritism, to the utter neglect of the vital interests of Christianity, convince us, if we may so speak, that the papacy was abandoned by God, long before it was attacked by man. On the election of a pope, his nephews immediately shared the largest measure of ecclesiastical and political power. Of course, they busied themselves at once, and constantly, in conforming and extending it. Their success depended upon the life of the uncle. If they succeeded in raising many friends to lucrative and influential posts, they acquired, of course, so many "creatures" to stand by their side, when, the holy chair being left vacant, they aspired to fill it with their own reverend persons. Thus it generally happened, that rival parties alternated in their success. During the life of a pope, two factions divided the curia, the one consisting of the nepotes and the friends of the reigning pontiff, the other of the nepotes and the friends of the last pontiff. At the meeting of the conclave of cardinals for the choice of one of their number to fill the exalted office, there was, of course, so much of intrigue, state policy, and private interest to be regarded, that the solemn functions which ought to have been had in view were considered last, if at all. For a long time, the office was filled by popular election, the power of choice resting with the Roman presbyters, the clergy, and the people, the emperor confirming it. The election was often accompanied and followed by bloody contentions. Nicholas the Second, in 1051, established the principle which Alexander the Third, Gregory the Tenth, and Clement the Sixth confirmed, that the choice of the Pope should rest wholly with the college of cardinals; two thirds of the whole number of votes being necessary to a choice. The conclave must meet on the tenth day after the funeral of a deceased pope, the cardinals not being obliged

to wait any longer for the return of any of their number, who may happen to be absent from Rome. When once assembled, in a hall of the Vatican, they cannot leave it till their choice is determined. Their diet was appointed from day to day, growing poorer as the time was extended. There are, probably, some documents in relation to the conclaves, which we can never hope to see. Enough, however, is known concerning them during the period of history which we are now considering, to assure us, that Reformation was not a word without meaning in the days of Luther.

It was at the time when the monarchs and people of Europe were beginning to question the spiritual supremacy of the popes, that they conceived the plan of forming temporal principalities in Italy for their nephews, in order to confirm their power. Sixtus the Fourth, in 1475, first acted upon this purpose, but he was far outdone by Alexander the Sixth, that monster of iniquity.

His son, Cæsar Borgia, the instrument by which the father sought to secure a principality in Italy, was probably as vile and abandoned a wretch as ever polluted the earth. He has the honor of having afforded Alexander Pope an example of human depravity, with which, in connexion with the fearful horrors of the material universe, he felt bound to reconcile the existence and goodness of God ;

“If plagues and earthquakes break not Heaven’s design,
Why, then, a Borgia or a Catiline?”

Cæsar succeeded in his enterprise, and ruled the territory which he conquered with a sceptre of iron and blood.

Luther was but one of a thousand in the Church, who cherished feelings, which, like his own in their earlier movements, sought for a revivification of the Catholic faith, not for its destruction. They believed some changes to be feasible without endangering the unity of the Church. He began his work in sincerity and in earnest, and, therefore, he followed it out fearlessly, though not without agitation of nerve. The timid thousand, who began with him, were soon frightened by his audacity, and they drew back.

Alexander and his son succeeded in their short-sighted purpose, by calling in foreign aid from France, Spain, Germany, and Switzerland, but they thus sacrificed their independence, and made their land what it has been ever since, and probably

will again be, a battle field. We may well conceive what elements of confusion from without were thus introduced into the bosom of the Church. The pontiffs, being generally selected from the oldest of the cardinals, that they might be easily managed, and might allow of swift succession in office, were advanced in years, and it was frequently the case, that they lived only one or two months after their elevation. Now, if each in succession made it his object to establish his family during his life-time, and his own individual intrigues ran counter to the intrigues of the numerous conclaves, held at brief intervals, what other consequences could be expected than those which followed, the most deplorable enormities, the grossest corruption?

Julius the Second fortunately found the means of providing for his family without strife, the patrimony of Urbino; he then gave himself up to his favorite passion for war and conquest, all for the benefit of the Holy See. He found the neighboring regions in the most distracting disorder, but succeeded in mastering the barons and Cæsar Borgia, by the very means which that successful scoundrel himself had employed.

Pretences of religion multiply the forms of crime and corruption, and facilitate every evil scheme. The Catholic church had become a den of thieves and murderers. From its head to its lowest members, it was rotten with iniquity. Numerous and unanswerable as are the charges of corruption repeated in all the Protestant histories of the Reformation, the most resolute champion of Christianity, in attacking the abuses of those times, and detailing the forms and disguises of iniquity, cannot exhaust nor exaggerate the catalogue of crime. The offices of spiritual dignity and of Christian instruction were put into the hands of agents of the lowest character, and sold to the highest bidder. One who would justify the most unbridled fury of the early Protestants, need say nothing against the doctrines of the Church; the practices which it sanctioned, and to maintain which it prostituted to its service whatever sentiment of piety might lurk in the hearts of its disciples, fix upon it the dreadful features of Antichrist. That the popes nominated the cardinals by personal favor was but a trifle, compared with the sale of the highest and the lowest offices, the barter of the sacred privileges and duties of the Christian ministry, for viler rewards than those which Simon Magus offered. The worst men, by the worst means, obtained the highest offices, and then, for the meanest

remuneration, transferred their duties to the mendicant orders, who were without education, character, or any pretence to piety. The intrusion of this secular spirit into the Roman court, was followed by the decay of vigor and health in the farthest extremities which it influenced. Men mourned not only the absence of pure religion, for if this were all they would have been no worse off than if they had remained heathen; but their sorrow was heightened by the conviction, that the very number and burden of their wrongs were increased by the greater power put into the hands of their oppressors, through the pure religion which was so defiled. Some prelates at the court of Rome were moved to express their sorrow in exclaiming, "What a sight for a Christian, who traverses the Christian world, is this desolation of the Church! The shepherds have all deserted their flocks, and have left them to hirelings." In the midst of this corruption an intellectual spirit was slowly extending its influence. A taste was revived for the fine arts. But it is remarkable, that philosophy and taste appeared in Rome in their first general effects to combine with the elements of evil in undermining the Church. Leo the Tenth has given his name to the age. He enjoyed the combination of temporal power and spiritual dignity. He delighted in the Latin plays and poems, in the writings of Machiavelli, the paintings of Raphael, and the music of improvisatori, which filled the halls of the Vatican.

Men went to the Vatican not to pray, but to admire the Apollo and the Laocoön, and the Pope was urged to renew the war against the infidels to recover some Greek and Latin manuscripts. Luther might well be amazed, on entering Rome, and hearing the priests blaspheme the service, while performing mass. A contemporary writer said, "No one passed for an accomplished man, who did not entertain heretical opinions about Christianity; at the court the ordinances of the Catholic church, and passages of holy writ, were spoken of only in a jesting manner; the mysteries of the faith were despised." On either side of the Alps there arose a spirit of irreconcilable opposition to the Church, but widely differing in the feelings which prompted it, inasmuch as in Germany it was born of a deep-searching piety, and in Italy of worldliness and levity. Leo concluded a treaty with Charles the Fifth, and the interests of the Holy See were secured in Northern Italy by the taking of Milan. The news was brought to the Pope at his

villa. He returned to Rome to celebrate the joyful victory, and there was attacked by a mortal disease. "He loved life, but his hour was come. He had not time to receive his viaticum, nor extreme unction. So suddenly, so early, so full of high hope, he died, 'as the poppy fadeth.' The people could not forgive him for squandering money, for leaving debts, and dying without the Sacrament. They followed him to his grave with reproach and indignity, saying, 'You glided in like a fox, you ruled like a lion, you have died like a dog.'"

The Cardinal of Tortosa, a Netherlander, a former teacher of Charles the Fifth, aged, venerable, and esteemed a saint, though known to but few, became Pope Adrian the Sixth, owing his election to a long and unsuccessful conclave, decided by many intrigues. He was grave and of a spotless fame, benevolent, pure, upright, pious, and industrious. Rising at dawn, dividing business and study by a simple meal, without taste or culture, so economical as to bring with him an old female servant to regulate his household, he was a striking contrast to Leo. He earnestly desired to reform the Church, and to eradicate abuses. But he had cause to say, "Let a man be never so good, how much depends on the times in which he is born!" He was called mean; he was unsuccessful and unpopular. He found all things in confusion; the interests of the Church were intermingled with the politics of Spain, Austria, and France. Clement the Seventh, who succeeded him, avoided the abuses of Leo, and the antagonistic spirit of Adrian, he paid attention to business, and to the reverential discharge of the pontifical services. He was acute and well informed upon natural philosophy and theology. But the Church began now to meet some of the ill consequences of its intermingling with the political relations of rival states. Spain had extended her territory under the cover of a friendly alliance with the papacy, and their mutual interests had become inextricably interwoven. The Pope provoked the war, and the united imperialists, pouring over the Alps, stormed and sacked Rome. The war was disastrous to the Church, and Clement was obliged to seek safety in the tomb of Adrian, the castle of St. Angelo. Florence, his own native city, drove out his family. France had in this matter been an ally of the Pope, and now that her fortunes declined, Clement condescended to form a counter alliance with his late imperial foe, by signing the treaty of Barcelona. Charles thus won back the ancient power of the empire in Italy, and

since that moment Italy has never been free from foreign sway. The Pope had stipulated that his authority should be restored in Germany in spite of the triumphs of Protestantism, and that the devout emperor should be the agent of this counter reformation. But this was a difficult work. Cardinal Campeggi presented a memorial to the emperor at the Diet of Augsburg, detailing the plan of a civil war, by which the emperor was to conclude a treaty with the well disposed princes, and then work upon the recusants by promises or threats. Excommunication and confiscation would effect the work. Charles had a right "to extirpate this poisonous plant with fire and sword," or at least he might extract from the Protestants a large sum of money for the war against the Turks. Charles hesitated, either from kindness and thoughtfulness, or from interest, mistrusting the sincerity and love of the Pope ; at any rate, he did not feel bound to attack those, who were only the enemies of the Church, not his own.

Then a general council was talked about by princes and people, to settle all doubts and remove grievances. The last thing, which the Pope and his friends could look forward to with pleasure, would be such a council. At the very first serious report of it, the market prices of all the saleable offices in the Roman court fell. The emperor went to Bologna, and in a conference with Clement, urged the council, to which the Pope appeared to consent, though he raised all manner of obstacles and objections, and to avoid it, he formed a new alliance with France, by betrothing his niece, Catharine of Medici, with the king's second son, as in the former troubles he had united fortunes with the emperor, by the marriage of his nephew with the natural daughter of Charles. But, what is most remarkable, and shows how strangely secular intermeddling involved the papacy, the Protestants were bound up in the same political interests, and to some extent in the same alliance with the Pope and Francis against the emperor. This accident gave Protestantism an onward impulse, which may well be called its second epoch. Wirtemberg, Pomerania, part of Denmark, Brandenburg, Saxony, Brunswick, and the Palatinate, were reformed, and in both Upper and Lower Germany, Protestantism was established forever. Clement died, leaving the Church despondent, disheartened, and crushed.

And now, as we approach the period of the regeneration of the papacy, which was partial, but which promised to be entire,

we must say a word concerning the attempt which was made for reconciliation, before general and bloody war proved all union hopeless. Opinions, analogous with the most important tenets of Protestantism, prevailed extensively in Italy. Under the name of the "Oratory of Divine Love," a society of intellectual and pious men had originated in Rome, from whence it soon spread into Venice, Padua, Modena, and Naples. They conversed upon the high themes of spiritual and contemplative science, and their fundamental and most prominent doctrine was justification by faith, the very weapon which Luther wielded with such heart and temper. Cardinal Pole, and some other fugitives from England, were members of the society, also Gaspar Contarini, of whom Pole said, "that he was ignorant of nothing that the human mind could discover by its own research, or that divine grace had revealed; and that he crowned his knowledge with virtue." Sadolet, Giberto Caraffa, Gaetano da Thiene, Pietro Bembo, and many noble and refined ladies were conspicuous members of the society. Its influence soon spread with great rapidity among the middle classes. The decree of the inquisition reckons three thousand schoolmasters as holding its opinions. Though it kept within the pale, and did not attack the supremacy of the Church, it did in fact generate Protestantism within its very bosom. Paul the Third, honorably to himself, raised some of its prominent members to the cardinalate, and they drew up a scheme for the reform of abuses, at which the Protestants smiled, knowing how much deeper the probe must go to heal. In the conference held at Ratisbon, in 1541, in which the gentle Bucer and the mild Melancthon appeared on behalf of the Protestants, and Contarini for the Church, the schism was almost healed, harmony was well nigh restored. Ranke describes Contarini in beautiful and attractive characteristics. He was nobly born, studious, and devout; he did not seek the hat of a cardinal, and when he unexpectedly received it, he did not esteem it his highest honor. He was mild, true, pure, and devoutly religious. This was a most eventful crisis in the fortunes of the Church, when it extended a friendly hand towards the Protestants, and almost clasped that which was offered in return; when by its authorized agent it proposed measures, the success of which would have changed the whole ecclesiastical constitution. Luther decidedly resisted the suspicious effort; he would have nothing to do with such a patch-work fabric. The Pope was not so decided on his part, at least he did not so

declare himself. Many reasons might lead him to desire an amicable adjustment, but political interests again put in the sword. The emperor, in opening the diet, announced a general council with saying, that only the Pope could summon it. This measure, the result of which might be union, would have given great solidity to Germany, which, of course, Francis the First was interested to prevent, and he protested against the offered concessions. Thus all conciliatory measures failed, and Contarini returned to Rome, mortified and abused.

We are now presented with a brief review of those resisting influences, which the Church opposed to stem the torrent of Protestantism. There originated in its own bosom an attempt for self-reformation, on principles independent of those urged by the German dissentients. A strong and widely disseminated feeling sought for a renewal, a revival of the hierarchy, on foundations more in accordance with the sentiment and progress of the age. New religious orders now sprang up to meet the necessities of the Church, as the order of St. Benedict in the sixth, and those of St. Francis and St. Dominic in the thirteenth century, had in the days of their origin answered the same end. The degenerate Franciscans, being reformed back again to the early faith of their order, became the Capuchins scrupulous in their observances, unrelaxing in their zeal; Gaetano da Thiene, a prominent member of the society we have already named, founded the order of Theatins, zealous, devoted priests, the objects of whose labors were a regeneration of pious sentiments, and a reformation of the clergy. The order of the Barnabites was instituted to relieve the horrors of war, and to perform works of mercy. But these agents of truth and righteousness, however earnest, could work only in a narrow sphere; they could do but little of the stupendous work which the Church demanded.

Next, the society of Jesus came into existence, which, in the eyes of the whole world, has been a living attestation of the mighty influence of a well-organized association, applying the best and the worst means to secure a single end. Its original conception sprung from the chivalry of Spain, imbued with its ancient religious spirit; Amadis de Gaul is its romance. Its founder, Don Inigo, a descendant of the noble house of Loyola, aspired to win the highest honors by feats of arms and the fame of knighthood. He was passionately devoted to all the insignia and paraphernalia of chivalry, and he composed a ro-

mance on his favorite theme, the hero of which was the first apostle. He would have been known to history as a valiant Spanish Captain, but for wounds which he received, in both his legs, at the defence of Pampluna against the French, in 1521. He was maimed for life, though in the harassing mortification of being thus disgraced, he submitted to the intense pain of having his wounds twice opened. During his long confinement, he read the *Amadis*, and the lives of Christ and the saints. Romantic and sensitive by nature, as his feelings alternated between the hope of recovery and the despair of being a helpless cripple, his irritable and visionary disposition vacillated between the zeal for chivalrous prowess and for spiritual glory. The latter predominated in his desires, when his confirmed lameness convinced him that he would never be fit for knightly exploits. He passed through a succession of rapturous meditations, day dreams and night visions, and by gradual changes his wild and fanciful reveries became startling and vivid convictions, which moved the deepest recesses of his inward life. Thus prepared to work upon the hearts and feelings of others, he began his wanderings as a pilgrim knight of the Holy Virgin. He hung his lance and shield before her image, and prayed. In the cell of a Dominican convent he practised the severest penances. He scourged himself three times in a day, and spent seven hours on his knees at prayer. He endangered his life, but did not tranquillize his spirit. He devoted three days to a general confession, but gained no peace against the painful doubts concerning his justification. His struggles resemble those through which Luther had just before passed, yet how widely different were their issues! Ignatius made little use of the Scriptures, or of any dogmas; he was wholly occupied with his own emotions, with the conflict which good and evil spirits waged within him. He lived amid phantasies and inward apparitions. At last, he became calm, fixed, and resolute. The mysteries of the Creation and of the Trinity were sensibly revealed to his eyes. He was a new creature. After fulfilling a long cherished purpose of visiting Jerusalem, he returned to Spain, where he was suspected of heresy, and obliged to devote himself to study before he could be qualified to work his mission. With this object he went to Paris, where he found the preliminary grammatical and philosophical studies exceedingly difficult. He still enjoyed his profound religious thoughts, and in two intimates of his cell, Peter Faber and Francesco

Xavier, he made his first two converts, deeply impregnated with his own sentiments. Joined by three more of like nature, they took the vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience to the Pope, without condition, gainsaying, or remuneration. Their first purpose was to pass their lives in Jerusalem, in the care of Christians, and the conversion of infidels. But the war with the Turks forbidding their journey, they came near to uniting with the Theatins of Venice. Admitting a slight change in their intentions, they were ordained as priests, and soon attracted notice, and produced a wonderful effect by preaching in streets and villages, using a mixed language, and with wild, squalid, and haggard appearance. Having drawn up certain rules for their observance, they named themselves the Captains of Jesus. At Rome, their zeal and austerity drew numerous followers. Their great vow of unqualified obedience made them valuable accessories to the Pope, when all others were deserting him. They received his sanction with some limitations in 1540, and unconditionally in 1543. They rejected the monastic habit, and the burdensome devotional exercises. They gained over the rising generation, by preaching, by free education, and by the confessional. What an institution has that been, which thus sprung from the bewildered reveries of Ignatius. The world has not seen its rival, amid all the associations of hearts, consciences, or arms. It retained, for a long period, its original elements, its soldier-like spirit of obedience, its power of adaptation to circumstances.

The Council of Trent, with its deliberate decrees, presented the next obstacles to Protestantism, by partially regenerating the Church. The demand for such a council was heard from over the whole empire. The Pope, with many reasons to resist the demand, had one reason for allowing it. To revive and reinstate Catholicism, it was necessary to settle the doubts which had sprung up in the bosom of the Church. He was thus induced to allow of the council, only guarding that the time should be favorably chosen, and that his own influence should predominate. Ranke charges him with idle procrastination and temporizing, and with magnifying trivial obstacles, with removing the council, on the pretext of a plague, from Trent, where it was at first held, in December, 1545, to Bologna, in his own territory, and with a deceitful breach of faith with the emperor. These charges are repelled in a calm re-

view of the work by a Catholic writer.* The council was opened, when the emperor, about to make war against the two leaders of the Protestant party, needed the aid of the Pope. The emperor demanded that the council should begin with reform, but the papal legates succeeded in carrying their point, that the discussions of reform and of the Church dogmas should proceed together. But after all, the dogmas were discussed first. The proceedings were very systematic, first, disposing of the subject of revelation, the great source of all religious knowledge, in its connexion with tradition. On the instant, the Protestant sentiment of the sufficiency of the Scriptures made its appearance, but an immense majority added tradition. The Vulgate was recognised as containing the authentic Scripture. In this decisive beginning, half of the work was done. In the discussion of Justification, there was much leaning to Protestantism. Pole, especially, warned the assembly not to reject a doctrine merely because Luther advocated it. But the barrier of division was raised, and Catholicism and Protestantism stood face to face, as irreconcilable antagonists.

The Inquisition at Rome was established to promulgate the decrees of the council, and to torture into silence all opposition to them. The old Dominican inquisition had fallen into decay. Caraffa advised its renewal in Rome, because, "as it was in Rome, that St. Peter overcame the first heresiarchs, so must the followers of Peter subdue all the heresies of the world in Rome." Six cardinals, Caraffa and Juan Alvarez de Toledo being the first, were appointed commissaries of the Holy See, and general and universal inquisitors for the faith, on both sides of the Alps, with a right to delegate their authority, with full and complete power for confiscation and death in all cases, the Pope alone having the right of pardon. Caraffa was so earnest to try the new engine of cruelty, that he fitted up rooms in his own house, as prisons, bolted and barred. He appointed delegates, and enjoined a set of rules, "as most just and fit."

The rules were enforced with a severity all the more oppressive at this period of fermentation and revolution of opinion, and when there prevailed so much distrust and discord. Some timid heretics succumbed to the fearful tribunal. Confusion and dismay attended its stern inquests, and when its plans extended

* Dublin Review, No. IX. p. 38.

to the prohibition of heretical books, to the searching of private packages at the custom-house, and to the exhibition of *autos-da-fe* at Rome, all freedom was stifled, and men feared each other. The Jesuits offered their aid to advance the purposes of the inquisition. They spread with great rapidity in Venice, and over Spain and Portugal. They were divided into three classes, scholars, teachers, and missionaries, and by exacting from each other a complete separation from all the relations of life, a renunciation of worldly possessions, and a disclosure of all secrets, the society placed in the hands of its irresponsible general, who was chosen for life, an almost omnipotent power. They were all bound together by one tie; no member could hold any ecclesiastical dignity, and they were free from those ascetic devotional exercises, which occupied the time and wasted the strength of the other orders. They improved upon the prevalent modes of education, choosing one which was elemental and systematic, and they were the first to divide their pupils into classes. A city or a prince founded for them a college, and on the instant education was free to all. The confessional gave them complete empire over the conscience. The book of spiritual exercises, which their founder prepared, was wonderfully adapted to his purpose. It required the soul of a disciple to be kept in a constant state of excitement for thirty days. When Ignatius died, his company numbered thirteen provinces, besides the Roman. It had colleges in Castile, Arragon, Andalusia, Portugal, Brazil, the East Indies, and Ethiopia. Thus armed, Catholicism confronted Protestantism in 1552. No treaty of peace could reconcile them.

Thus reinvigorated, the principal opponent which the Church found was not Protestantism, after all; it was the worldly-mindedness, the temporal spirit of the popes themselves. It is this, which constitutes the interest of the struggle, which makes us concerned to know the characters of the successive pontiffs; and it is this secular spirit which involves the history of the times in the changing fortunes of success, tumult, internal strife, and in failures. The popes, however, had not so great an influence as an erroneous prevailing opinion ascribes to them. The regeneration of Catholicism began under Paul the Third; he saw its importance, allowed and promoted it, but he was in no sense its author or instigator. He had "no cordial sympathy with so religious and ascetical a spirit." He was luxurious, worldly, and debauched; he acknowledged an illegitimate son and

daughter. His excesses causing but little scandal in those days, he was raised to the cardinalate very young. His ambition was to secure the papal chair, and he attained it at the age of sixty-six, by a strict and cautious neutrality between the French and imperial factions in Italy. A heavy burden of conflicting interests was laid upon him, to reconcile France and Spain; to put down the Protestants; to resist the Turks; to reform the Church. He was cautious and deliberate; binding others, but keeping himself free, with great faith in the influence of the stars, and always interweaving his own with the public interests. His good nature and kindness made him beloved at Rome. With a vacillating policy, he formed matrimonial alliances, now with the emperor, now with the French monarch. He was disappointed in all his schemes, forsaken by his friends, and wounded most by the treachery of his grandsons, whom he had loved most. At the age of eighty-three, he died of agitation in a quarrel with Cardinal Farnese.

As several Cardinals, standing around the altar during the next conclave, discussed the difficulty of finding a pope, Cardinal Monte said, "Choose me, and the day after I will make you my companions and favorites out of the whole college of cardinals." He was chosen, and took the name of Julius the Third. He embarked his interests with the emperor against the French, but meeting with no success, he concluded to wile away his days in the construction and enjoyment of the beautiful villa outside of the Porta del Popolo, which strangers now visit with admiration.

His successor, Marcellus the Second, of whom his contemporaries said, "the world is not worthy of him," lived as Pope only twenty-two days. He was the first of the supreme pontiffs of the time, in whose election the strict party obtained an influence.

Paul the Fourth, resolute, uncompromising, and unwearied, determined to carry through a reform, and so rid himself of the imperial trammels. He remembered Italy in the freedom of the fifteenth century, and he resolved to restore its palmy days. There was a reciprocal hate between him and Charles.

All thoughts of reform were soon given over, to prepare for war under the French alliance. Alva fought against the pope, but, like a good Catholic, did not cease to reverence him. The most efficient defenders of the Pope were German Protestants, who ridiculed the mass in the Church, and the images by the

roadsides. His Holiness even invoked the aid of the infidel Mussulmen against the Catholic King of Spain. Here were strange contradictions. All proved unsuccessful for the Church. Paul had been madly hurried into reckless enterprises, but he soon entirely changed his policy, banishing his vile nephews, whom he had before endowed with the lands of the Church, and choosing new advisers. He began the reform of abuses with the strictest severity, using the inquisition, his own pet. He had reached the age of seventy-nine on his election, but retained the nerve and fire of youth. The people never, in his life or at his death, forgave him the ruin he had brought upon Rome. He left the Church in a condition far worse than that in which he had found it. In Spain and in Italy the first breathings of dissent had been stifled, but Scandinavia and Britain were wholly severed. Germany was almost Protestant; Geneva was a hot-bed of heresy; Poland and Hungary were in a ferment.

Pius the Fourth, a Milanese adventurer of mean origin, is described as lively, active, and jovial, free and familiar, yet requiring respect. He was cheerful and easy of address, full of humor, an early riser, and fond of the table. After recovering from a dangerous illness, he mounted his horse briskly, rode to visit a cardinal, and running over the house, said; "No, no, we are not going to die yet." He instituted summary proceedings against the nephews of his predecessor, and gave no countenance to nepotism. His only living nephew, the sainted Borromeo, might well have been trusted with supreme power, but he was not the man to seek it. Pius dreaded war above all things, even when it was against the Protestants; and he unhesitatingly averred, "that the power of the Pope could no longer sustain itself, unsupported by the authority of temporal sovereigns." The demand for a council again became loud and universal. The French threatened to call a national council, if the Pope would not summon a general one. This would have been followed by open schism. Pius desired a council, rather than otherwise. On January 18, 1562, the twice interrupted assembly was again convened at Trent. The aspect of affairs was different from that at the former sessions. The Pope no longer feared the encroachments of the emperor, for Ferdinand was without influence in Italy. The essential Catholic faith was well settled over the Catholic world, and it was too late to hope for reconciliation with the Protestants. Of

course, they did not feel themselves at all concerned in the council. Its objects were to reconcile the Catholic powers with the Pope, to fix the rule of faith in points where it was questioned, to complete the internal reform, and to enact a code of discipline. The obstacles presented by political interests long delayed its decisions. Much pliancy and dexterous policy and mutual concessions at last brought about an harmonious result ; but the object aimed at by the first movers, namely, a limitation of the power of the Pope, was not secured. Catholicism cast in its lot with royalty, and herein lay its subsequent strength, and success, and ruin.

Pius the Fifth, born of humble parentage, was devout and energetic. He was chosen by the strict party, but he was obstinate, irritable, and severe. Borromeo's influence over him was good. He restored order and discipline in the Church, and by a series of successful movements, he united the zealous efforts of the Catholics.

The decisive struggle was now to commence between the Catholics and the Protestants. The former had the advantage over the latter in possessing a common centre, a leader able to unite its forces, and a territory of its own. That territory was rich in its productions, but its several districts were divided by fierce feuds. This, however, only strengthened the general power which received tribute from all. The financial affairs of the Church were dismally involved. The necessity of transmitting ecclesiastical revenues from different parts of Europe, originated in Rome the system of exchange. A national debt, likewise, was first created there. The most extraordinary measures were devised to increase the resources of the Church. Presents were required from the incumbents of offices, jubilees and indulgences brought in large sums, but the chief resource was the creation and sale of new offices, which amounted to loans made to the Church, to be repaid at high rates of interest by increased imposts. In 1471, there were six hundred and fifty saleable offices, the income of which was one hundred thousand dollars. Innocent the Eighth even pawned the tiara. Leo the Tenth created more than twelve hundred new offices. These state creditors thus acquired a share in the government. From having been the least burdened of all states, Rome became overwhelmed with taxes.

Gregory the Thirteenth was not naturally spiritual, but he was forced to become so by the tendencies and the necessities of the

age. He had an illegitimate son, whom he at once promoted, but was soon forced to send away. He encouraged the revival of discipline ; when compelled to do so, founded twenty-two new Jesuit colleges, and is chiefly remembered for the reform which he made in the calendar. He involved the state in debt, and as an expedient for raising money, he seized upon the castles and estates, where a lineal inheritance had failed, where the rents of the Church had not been paid, or where they had been mortgaged by the papal see. He thus revived old feuds and strife.

Sixtus the Fifth was one of the most renowned of the Roman pontiffs. He rose from the humblest station, and was attached to the strict party. He exterminated the banditti that infested the state, by resolute and unflinching severity. "His justice had something barbaric and oriental in it." His government displayed energy and conscientiousness. He erected some of the most sumptuous structures, and added much to the grandeur of modern Rome, but, by a most deceptive and ruinous financial system, he loaded the Church with debt. He had so bad an opinion of his predecessor as to order masses to be said for his soul, having dreamed that he saw him in the place of suffering.

The first period of the counter-reformation lies between 1563 and 1589. In the two peninsulas, Catholicism, having repelled all assaults, stood firm. Protestantism had extended irresistibly north of the Alps and the Pyrenees ; it held a wide dominion over Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Prussian Poland, and Hungary. The Venetian ambassador, in 1558, said, that only one tenth of the people of Germany were faithful to the old religion. Of course, Protestant bishops and schools, and an alienation of Church property followed. New Calvinism was more opposed to the Church than Lutheranism. Catholicism had thus far defended herself, she now assumed the attitude of attack. Her creed had been regenerated by the Council of Trent, as the human constitution is by physic. The Jesuits gave the moving impulse, political intrigues weighed either scale in turn, and Albert the Fifth of Bavaria struck the first blow. In the Netherlands, Philip the Second of Spain drove on the work of blood with the fiend-like fury of the leader of the damned. Before the year 1560, Charles the Fifth had put to death more than thirty thousand Protestants. The ecclesiastical princes of Germany united against the reformed peasants.

In France, fifty thousand victims fell on St. Bartholomew's day. Pius the Fifth, elated at the prospect, sent his small army over the Alps, with instructions to slay every Huguenot, and in his daring hopes he excommunicated Elizabeth, and planned an expedition against England, to be headed by himself. The wars of the league and the confederation, and the vacillating policy of different princes varied each day the aspect of the strife. By awful conceptions of tyranny, and by savage perseverance, parts of Germany were won back to the peaceful fold of Jesus Christ. And shall any one censure the severe laws which Elizabeth passed against the Jesuits? Nothing but the clashing interests of France and the empire stayed the sweep of desolation. Even the Pope was at one time leagued with the Protestants. Sixtus endeavored in vain to fix the contest upon the great interests of the Church. He could not even decide in his own mind, whether to side with Henry the Fourth of France, or with Spain.

The following conclaves were numerous and stormy. Urban the Seventh lived after his election only twelve days. Spain used all her influence to rule the cardinals to approve her choice. Gregory the Fourteenth was resolute against Henry, and repeated the sentence of excommunication against him.

What the result of his decision would have been, his death in less than a year concealed. Again the Spaniards ruled the conclave, and Innocent the Ninth was chosen. He would have given them his full influence and his heart, but he was old, feeble, and dying when elected; he gave audiences on his bed, and survived scarcely two months.

The next conclave felt that their work was important. They would choose, at last, a vigorous man. San Severina, a zealous bigot, who thought St. Bartholomew's day a most joyful day to Catholics, had assumed his robes and his papal title, but was after all balked of his election. Clement the Eighth was finally chosen.

Henry, the Protestant king of France, had been the chief agent of disunion among the friends of the Church. It was at the time when the controversy was agitated between the advocates of the divine right of monarchs, and the champions of popular rights. He retained, as lawful king, the allegiance of some of the most devoted Catholic subjects. Clement was about to renew the war against him, when he began to exhibit the first signs of conversion. The Pope cautiously mistrusted

his sincerity, but finally granted him full absolution. Ferrara now lapsed to the papal see, and was secured by the coöperation of France.

Dissensions concerning the Jesuits now introduced new sources of anxiety. As the friends of Spanish influence, they had been expelled from France, and Clement undertook to restore their popularity and power. It is remarkable, that at this period they were in trouble in Spain, from their own divisions, from the inquisition, the Dominicans, and the king. Their first three generals had been Spaniards, and it became necessary, that there should be some interference with the unbalanced influence thus put into the hands of that nation. Even Philip thought they had too much power. They departed from the system of Thomas Aquinas, and thus roused the Dominicans against them. Influenced by motives of policy and necessity, Henry at last consented to readmit the order into France, and even chose a Jesuit for his confessor. Circumstances now led the papacy to appear in its highest character, of mediator and peacemaker, between the two rival Catholic nations. After bringing about the peace of Vervens between them, Clement endeavored to turn their united strength against the Turks, but he died leaving new French intrigues in Italy to nullify his labors, and to work trouble for the Church. The next conclave under French influence elected Leo the Eleventh, who survived only twenty-six days. The same influence, without even the knowledge of the Spaniards, elected his successor, Paul the Fifth, a harsh and eccentric man, who had lived in seclusion among his books, to neither party a friend or an enemy. He was proud and cruel, with most exaggerated ideas of his office. In every adversary which Rome silenced, she of course increased her power over her adherents. In opposing Protestantism, she brought into activity the full energies of her supremacy. But the preferring of her claims involved her with fresh difficulties in the Italian States, especially with Venice, where Rome had increased the number of her servants, who were exempt from the payment of tithes, had introduced her index of prohibited books, and had interfered with the great printing interests of the republic. The resistance to these papal encroachments brought about the famous controversy between Bellarmine and Baronius on the side of the Church, and Fra Paoli Sarpi, the able champion of the opinions which limit ecclesiastical authority.

Venice ridiculed the papal excommunication, and resisted

most resolutely. The Pope was exasperated, but dared not resort to war, for Venice would call in Protestant aid, and thus involve all Europe in strife again. The interference of France and Spain brought about a show of reconciliation.

At the beginning of this period, we saw Rome leaguering itself with Spain, and seeking with invigorated energy to reinstate herself, but the unnatural mixture of worldly policy defeated her purpose. However, she faithfully tried her strength. In Poland, Catholicism gradually regained an ascendancy. In Sweden, Sigismund, by leave of the crafty Jesuits, that he might tamper with his conscience in breaking solemn promises, tampered with the Protestants, but he could not crush the anti-Romanist spirit. Russia for one moment promised success to Catholicism, but it failed. Each German Prince held it to be his unquestionable right to establish what religion he pleased.

Thus matters proceeded for a time, till the Diet at Ratisbon, 1608, finally opposed the parties, for the unity of the empire was virtually dissolved. While Germany was thus arrayed in hostile preparation for a great religious war, which should involve all her circles, the king of France weighed the balance of power by siding with the Catholics. "At the moment in question, the Catholic world was united, classical, monarchical; the Protestant, divided, romantic, republican." The Church was the first aggressor. The battle on the Weisberg was decisive against the Elector Frederic. Bavaria attacked the upper Palatinate, Spain the lower, and the Protestant union was dissolved in 1621. The royal Catholic power in France was elated with success. Fierce tragedies were acted in the valley of the Grisons. "The wild mountains echoed with the shrieks of death, and were fearfully lighted up with the flames of the solitary dwellings." Paul the Fifth died in the celebration of the victory. Gregory the Fifteenth was elected his successor.

Catholicism, in a mighty torrent, poured from the south to the north of Germany. The emperor and the pope transferred the Palatine Electorate to Duke Maximilian. The total downfall of Protestantism in France was prepared and facilitated by the apostacy of its nobles. The Catholics exulted at the negotiations for the marriage of Charles of England with the Infanta of Spain. This, too, was the period when the missions of the Jesuits attained such stupendous success in the East and West Indies. But all these brilliant prospects were darkened by the dangers

foreseen in the inevitable loss of the balance of power between the great nations, if Catholicism obtained the rule. Gregory died without seeing the vision. It was his successor, Urban the Eighth, who engaged Philip in the attack upon England.

The policy of Richelieu, which mingled so many interests, slighted the clear, leading idea of the Church. Political considerations preponderated over all spiritual purposes. The dispute about the Mantuan succession divided the allied champions of the Church. Gustavus Adolphus alone, single-handed, crushed the power of the imperial allied armies. The thirty years' war involved two generations in a protracted struggle. Catholicism could not even unite its disciples, it could not live either with or without the sword of empire. The peace of Westphalia, in 1648, closed the war, and buried the last hope of the Church to gather into one fold on earth the hearts and the nations of Christendom.

Ranke devotes two-thirds of his last volume to a full exhibition of the documents, generally entire, which confirm and illustrate his views. These are preceded by a brief retrospective summary, and a review of the papacy under the aspect, which, in later times, it has presented to the world. The mutual relations of Church and State, the elements of the Roman population, the public debt, the new families and buildings, and the civil dissensions of the ecclesiastical territory, are the subjects of much interesting discussion. The Jesuits fell from their high estate, and they richly deserve the character, which of late they have borne. The Jansenist controversy disturbed the peace of the humbled papacy, and the States of Europe have long worked their will, as Napoleon did, with a reckless irreverence, against the disabled successors of the long line of Roman pontiffs. The concluding paragraphs of the history are full of wisdom, faith, and comfort.

G. E. E.

ART. IV. — *An Address, delivered in South Hadley, Mass. July 30, 1840, at the Third Anniversary of the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary.* By MARK HOPKINS, D. D. Published by request of the Trustees. pp. 23. Northampton. Printed by John Metcalf. 1840.

It is gratifying to see men occupying the high stations in the literary world, which the heads of our colleges hold, contributing to give a right direction to public opinion, as to the importance of female education. It has often been remarked, that most of those distinguished men, who have united moral elevation of character to intellectual preëminence, have had the blessing of a good mother. Would that more of them would make an offering like this to filial piety, and do something to extend this blessing to the future leaders and teachers of mankind.

This beautiful Address is worthy of the high reputation of President Hopkins. He admits the paramount importance of female education. Men have attempted, hitherto in vain, to "control the waters of society, as they found them flowing on, impetuous and turbid," and are now turning towards their source, and "purifying the springs, from which they flowed."

But society is only beginning to look in this direction.

"It is not understood how high those qualities of the intellect and of the heart are, which are needed for the right management of the young, how much light and how much love must shine around the opening bud of early childhood, that it may expand in fair proportions; it is not understood how early the ductile material of character begins to grow rigid, so that before the age of eight, or even of six, it generally assumes lineaments, to which subsequent life only serves to give greater prominence. In forming that material *man* cannot do what ought to be done, he cannot undo what *will be* done by a mother, who is ignorant or weak or selfish or unprincipled; and whatever influence he may wish to exert will be far more efficient, if he has the coöperation of one who can enter fully into all his views, — just as the oak will cast a shade that is deeper and more refreshing, if the vine that adorns it mingles its leaves with those of every branch, and entwines itself to the topmost bough." — pp. 3, 4.

Dr. Hopkins maintains, and satisfactorily proves, the two

following propositions ; First, that so far as the object of education is to fit the individual for a particular sphere, — the education of woman, — her preparation for that sphere, should be as complete and thorough as that of man ; and second, that so far as the object of education is to expand and strengthen the mind, without reference to a more specific and immediate result, the advantages of the sexes should be equal. Not that their education should be the same, but that it should be equally good.

The object of the education of a female should not be to render her unfit for the details of the duties of common daily life, but to qualify her to perform them better, more worthily, more gracefully. She cannot rise above them. They are the highest that a human being can be called to. Her education should raise her to them.

To the realizing the complete and thorough education that a woman should have there are obstacles. The chief of these is found in the "early age at which females enter into society, and into married life." Dr. Hopkins thinks the effect of this must be unfavorable, and doubts whether there will be a change in this respect. For ourselves, we see no reason why a woman, who has been well educated up to the period of an early marriage, should at once cease her preparations for the great duties of life, which have then become certainties. On the contrary, that is the very moment when the preparation for the duties of motherhood, if it have till then been omitted, should begin in earnest. It is wisely so arranged in the constitution of things, that these duties come on gradually. They may be prepared for one by one. The young wife and the young mother have the highest motives that can be addressed to human creatures, to study to furnish herself to rear and form the immortal being that is to be entrusted to her. What is wanted is a previous moral training to make her realize these responsibilities, and a wise guidance to point out the sources to which she must look for her qualifications.

The dangers that arise from prematurely entering into society, and becoming engrossed by its interests, its frivolities, by its often heartlessness, are far more serious. But may we not hope, that our fair countrywomen will learn something from the experience of other countries, in which it is the almost universal practice to "come out" later ? Will they not learn from the evils they see their mothers suffering ? Or will not the mothers make their children profit by their own experience ?

The question is next asked, what should be the spirit and principle of female education? What are the feelings which a young woman would wish to excite in a judicious and impartial person of her own sex?

The answer is, first, *admiration*. This, coming from the source it does, is somewhat startling. But listen.

"This is the feeling awakened by that excellence in natural objects, in human actions, and in the products of skill, which addresses itself to the taste. God evidently made his works to be admired. The human figure and countenance, as the chief of those works on the earth, ought to be admired. If he has given us endowments capable of exciting this feeling, it is an advantage to us, and if those around us are what they should be, a pleasure to them, for which both we and they ought to be thankful; and if we are able to embody and express the principles of a pure taste, I do not see why we may not emulate what is beautiful and graceful in nature; and innocently seek to become the conscious objects of that feeling which God excites by his works." — p. 8.

But this is dangerous ground. For admiration is usually awakened by natural gifts, as beauty and grace, and by what are called accomplishments. Beauty is a dangerous gift.

"No woman, much distinguished for anything else, has, so far as I know, been distinguished for beauty, and most distinguished women have been remarkably plain." — p. 9.

In a perfect state, indeed, every individual would be perfectly beautiful, but in our imperfect state, it is safe only "when the character is so strong, that beauty can seem to be possessed with that charming unconsciousness with which the flower blooms."

And as to the desire of admiration for accomplishments, when it becomes, as it is very apt to do, absorbing,

"The individual under its influence becomes entirely selfish. There is no artifice, to which she will not resort, no meanness to which she will not descend. The desire increases by indulgence, affection is sacrificed to it, fortune is wasted, and the comforts and duties of home are neglected. Well has Lady Morgan observed, that those who excite general admiration are seldom calculated to make *one* happy.

"Nor is there any passion that will more certainly lead to ultimate disappointment and unhappiness. The period during

which admiration can be experienced is brief, and nothing can be more pitiable than attempts made to retain it as age comes on. I have seen few persons more restless and apparently wretched, than some who have lived in the midst of admiration and flattery, when they found themselves passing into the shadows of age. Let accomplishments come in as accessories to a cultivated intellect and pure affections, and they are to be desired. They are as the clouds that sometimes follow in the train of the evening sun, and that reflect in brighter colors, without obscuring, the common light of day." — pp. 10, 11.

The next feeling, that we would wish our young friend to excite, is that of *respect*, a feeling which every one may command, by a right use of her faculties.

"But a right use of the faculties implies, of course, the ascendancy of the moral nature, manifesting itself in a sacred regard to duty, whether towards God or towards man. Wherever this is seen it commands respect, and no other element of our nature does, except in combination with this. The moment a child has an idea of anything as *right*, and struggles and makes sacrifices for it, *as such*, that moment we respect that child. We see in it something sacred. We recognise its relations to God; we see evidence of moral accountability, and the pledge of an immortal life. Here is the germ that we are to cultivate." — p. 12.

To this must be united a delicate sense of propriety. Nor is there any necessity, that the qualities that command respect should produce a formal or stiff manner.

"The firmest principle is entirely compatible with the kindest affections, and the most perfect grace of manner. Who was kinder in heart than our Saviour? Who ever regarded all the principles of taste more uniformly than he?" — pp. 12, 13.

Not only so, but the highest moral qualities, the very graces of the Christian character, are gentleness, meekness, sweetness, modesty, simplicity, — the very opposites of stiffness and formality.

Our young friend should seek not only to be admired and respected, but to be *beloved*. This is the true source of a woman's influence, and if her qualities are such as to attract love, her influence will be as great as she will wish it to be, and man will not wish it less.

"How far education can confer those qualities on which affection depends, may admit of a question." — p. 14.

Is there, then, no such thing as moral training, by which the lower and selfish propensities may be repressed, and the higher sentiments be brought into action? By which the love of admiration and the desire of advancing self may be in a just degree supplanted by the love of right, truth, justice, and of the Infinite Being, whose attributes they are? Yes; and "it is only as education can do this, that it will greatly affect for good the results of human society."

But something more than an artist in education, or a skilful professor, is required for this vital work. For this is needed

"A mother, a father, a true educator, who moulds the feelings and principles of action, who enters into the work with an affection, and a sense of responsibility which money cannot purchase, and which nothing but high aims and virtuous conduct on the part of those cared for can reward. Here, then, there is needed not so much talents, as, what is by no means always proportioned to them, influence,—and such an influence, too, as none but a good parent can ordinarily exert. And I cannot believe, that education will ever be what it should, till parents feel their responsibilities more, and give more personal attention to the subject than they do at present." — p. 15.

We believe that much may be, that much must be accomplished in this department, that it is the all-important work of education; and we agree with our author in thinking, that "no system is worth anything that is not based on the Bible." We would rather say on the Gospel; and with this substitution, which we hope would express the author's real meaning, we would adopt the following sentences, as an expression of our own deep convictions.

"The spirit of the Bible reaches down to the depths of the soul, has power to transform it, and to confer those qualities, upon which the affections of a reasonable and a moral being must depend. It looks entirely at what a man *is*, and not at all at what he *has*. Hence it is, that a young woman, of good sense and natural endowments, who should take the Bible, and seek in simplicity of heart to learn and manifest its spirit, asking wisdom of Him who giveth liberally to all, and should grow up at home with a sensible mother, would not only be more estimable and lovely, but would be better fitted for usefulness, and in the highest sense better educated than ninety-nine in a hundred who spend years at school."

"Having thus considered severally the emotions with refer-

ence to which we should educate a young lady, and the qualifications upon which those emotions must depend, perhaps it may be well to bring those qualifications together, and contemplate the being we should have. There can surely be no harm in thus gathering up a little the fragments of that excellence, that was broken and scattered in Eden, and holding them together long enough to see what we might have been, — what, through the restoring grace of the second Adam, we may yet be. It may even do us good to contemplate ideal excellence by stimulating us to higher efforts, if we are at the same time careful to acquire no disrelish for those sober and chastened views, which experience gives, of what we are really to expect in a world like this.

“ Let us, then, suppose the qualities mentioned to be combined in a high degree in a single individual. Let us suppose her beautiful in person, and, I will not say *accomplished*, for there clings to that word something of ostentation which I do not like, not accomplished, but possessed of accomplishments, and simple and elegant in manners. Let us suppose her intellectual faculties so exercised and balanced, that she has extensive information and good judgment, in connexion with the lighter graces of imagination and fancy ; and so then that she combines simple piety and the severer virtues with practical goodness as to awaken mingled respect and affection, and we have a combination, certainly possible, of solid and brilliant qualities, such as might well remind a person of no extraordinary enthusiasm of that expression in the Revelations, ‘ And I saw an Angel standing in the sun.’ ”

G. B. E.

ART. V. — *Injuries done to Christ. — A Sermon, preached to the Essex Street Congregation, Boston, March 21, 1841.*
By NEHEMIAH ADAMS, Pastor of Essex Street Church.
Tappan & Dennet. Boston. 1841. 12mo. pp. 19.

SEVERAL years have passed since any special notice has been taken, in these pages, of doctrinal or sectarian assaults. Indeed, few such assaults have been made. There has seemed to be an armistice, in this part of the church militant. What-

ever may have been felt or preached, little has been published, denunciatory of Unitarians, since the days, — we were about to call names, but it is better to let them rest in that oblivion, which the authors themselves may not wish to have disturbed. The last winter has brought a slight change over the scene. The visit and earnest labors of a popular preacher, who passed some time in Boston, the conversion, through his or other influences, of a few Unitarians to a different faith, (while as many *ministers*, in various parts of the country, and from their own inquiry, have been passing from the Trinitarian church to our own,) together with certain local incidents and aspects, have called forth an assailant, in armor and temper not wholly unlike the brothers and fathers who first unsheathed the sword among us several years ago. Mr. Adams will be surprised, perhaps, at being called an assailant, as he professes to appear only as the defender of Christ from the “injuries done” to him and his friends, and avows only the kindest feelings toward the doers of these injuries. But Mr. Adams must pardon us, if we still call him an assailant, and one of the most reckless sort. He must pardon us, at least he must bear with us, if we call him, and proceed to prove him, a calumniator; guilty of misrepresenting, and reviling those, to whom Christ is as precious as to him. This we say in no exasperation, in no haste. We say it deliberately, with a strong sense of its truth, and of the duty of saying it plainly. There is no pleasure, there may be no profit, in replying to such feeble reasoning and heartless reproach. But it is sometimes due to ourselves, and due to those who are ignorant of facts. It is due to the revilers. If they are anxious, that we should know their sufferings from our preaching and opinions, we are willing they should know our feelings, when they hold us up to the suspicion and condemnation of a large portion of the community. Not, that we fear a large portion of the intelligent, of any name, will condemn or suspect us, even if told to do it — the laity of the present dangerous age are able, and not afraid to see and judge for themselves — but that we are resolved none shall have the excuse of ignorance, so far as it depends upon us.

In all, therefore, that we have now to say, we mean to speak without reserve, and without softness. Mr. Adams has himself done a wanton injury to the spirit of Christ, of Christianity, and of many Christians. He deserves charity, but he has deprived us of the power of treating him with the respect,

which we would gladly cherish toward all. It is a small missile which he has thrown, but he has thrown it into the bosom of a community, in which peace and brotherly love have been growing for years among all classes; and if it cause no death or alienation, it will be owing to no fault on his part.

Its singular want of force in doctrine is the first feature to be noticed. It is pointless. It is puerile. To be sure, the author says the sermon "is not intended as a discussion of disputed points, but as an expression of feelings awakened by the denial of fundamental truths." Fundamental truths! And are these to be taken for granted? May a man hold himself excused from the labor of explaining and proving, merely because he uses the great word "fundamental," and disclaiming all purpose of discussion? May he still refer to certain passages as sustaining him, and go into a kind of reasoning which has the show of argument, and impute wilful rejections and perversions to his opponents, and put his own individual interpretation on his own "fundamental truths," — an interpretation which half of the theologians and people of his own name reject, but of which he speaks as if it were the doctrine of the whole orthodox church, — may he do this, and then shield the poverty of his argument under the assertion, that it was not designed to be argument? We do not acknowledge the validity of the plea. There is a want of fairness and of manliness in it. It is neither discussion nor exhortation, neither doctrine nor appeal, but both so mixed as to enable the author to avail himself of the argument as if it were all settled in his favor, and thence deduce the most frightful warnings. To show how this is done, the manner in which passages of Scripture are used without being explained, and the human phraseology of the Trinity introduced as if it were itself Scripture, or at least incontrovertible and admitted, we give a page of the sermon.

"Jesus Christ, being very God, has the feelings of God with regard to the honor which is due to himself. If we can conceive of the feelings of God when idolaters 'change his glory into the image of corruptible man,' we may conceive of the feelings of Jesus Christ, when, though he made all things, he is, in words and by the feelings of men, degraded to a level with his creatures. In assuming our nature, he did not part with his Deity. In taking human flesh to redeem us, it was far from his original purpose, that man should use that condescension to disprove his Godhead. He willingly became a man,

but not that men should thereby plead against his original nature. After making himself of no reputation, and taking the form of a servant, must it not wound him if we deny that he is anything more than that, which our fallen and lost condition required should be most prominent to us in his person? In his two-fold nature he became officially subordinate to the Father, but still worthy of worship, for it was said at his entrance into the world, 'Let all the angels of God worship him.' As though his official subordination might lead some to suppose, that he was any the less God than before, these words were addressed to him, in view of his becoming Mediator; 'Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever.' The Father, holding to the Son, in the Son's subordinate office, the relation of God, (so that it is said to Christ, *Thy God* hath anointed thee,) still, in the words above quoted, addresses the Son as God, and commands angels to worship him. It is an affecting thought, that men should take advantage of his humiliation for their sakes to rob him of his intrinsic Deity. All their admiration of him as a man, the founder of a new religion, a teacher, a special messenger, is at the expense of that honor which men should give him, 'even as they honor the Father.' It must appear to celestial beings the greatest injury which Christ has ever received in this world, and it must affect them, that when the Creator had humbled himself for man's sake, man should use his humiliation to prove, that he is only a good and great man. In contrast with their songs, 'worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power and riches and wisdom and strength and honor and glory and blessing,' how must angels feel to hear him degraded to a rank in creation below themselves, and that by creatures, whose nature he assumed in order to redeem them!" — pp. 7, 8.

Will Mr. Adams tell us where Christ is called, in the Scriptures, "very God," or where a word is said of his "two-fold nature?" Will he tell us, by what authority he calls the subordination of the Son to the Father "official?" Will he meet and refute, or at least hint at the explanation, which not our writers alone, but his own, and some high and learned Trinitarian professors have given of the proof-text he so confidently quotes, "Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever?" Will he inform his readers or hearers of a few *FACTS*, in regard to the title of God, and the assumed doctrine of the Trinity? It is a fact, — we blush to state it at this late day, but such amazing assumptions as are now put forth demand it, — it is a *fact*, better known than weighed, that the doctrine of the Trinity is

never named in the Bible, and was not found, not framed, not even voted into the Church, until about the beginning of the fourth century. It is a fact, that not a single Trinitarian doxology or formula, such as are now used in prayers and prayer-books, or such as Mr. Adams here adduces as a form of baptism, "to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, one God," was used by the apostles, or can be found in the Scriptures. It is a fact, that Christ never calls himself, nor is ever called by his disciples, "God the Son," or "very God," or by any of the peculiar designations of "supreme deity;" and that in the only two instances, in which he is ever charged by the Jews with making himself God, or equal with God, (John V. and X.,) he repels the allegation, and disclaims the title, as plainly as words can do it; so plainly, that we should tremble to repeat the same allegation. It is a fact, that he not only refuses to be called "good," in the sense in which God is good, (and what relief does the "two-fold nature" bring to such a denial?) he not only ascribes his existence, his commission, his power, his doctrine, his will, his works, to the Father, but he does it as the Son, the highest name or character ascribed to him by Trinitarians themselves. It is the "Son," who "knoweth not the day or the hour." It is the "Son," who "can of himself do nothing." And this is the very name and nature, in which Christ is said by men to be equal with God. Moreover, it is a fact, and a solemn fact, that if Christ did not deny that equality, and assert his inferiority and dependence, no human language can do it. Let the trial be made. We desire any man to find or invent words, expressive of that denial and that assertion, which could not be evaded and thrown back upon the assumption of a two-fold nature, as easily and as consistently as the Saviour's words now are. If the declaration of God, speaking from heaven, of one on the earth, — "this is my beloved Son," — and the direct, unqualified assertion of that Son, — "my father is greater than I," — can be turned from their obvious meaning, and made consistent with the very opposite, so may any words found in the Bible, or within the power of man to conceive there. Once more, it is a fact, of which we have never seen an explanation so much as attempted, that an apostle says; "To us, there is but one God, the Father." Is Christ, the Son, ever called, ever believed, ever imagined to be the FATHER?

These are a few of the facts, which should make men pause,

especially teachers and interpreters of God's word, before they allege, that by "denying the supreme deity of Jesus Christ," we inflict greater injuries upon him, than did Saul the persecutor, or Judas the traitor, or the malignant murderers. Aye, brother, I fear you have said that which to your dying hour, and long, long after, you will wish you had never said. May God forgive you, and all those who speak or feel with you. But you little know the feelings, the prayers, the faith and hope of those, whom you so boldly arraign before your own judgment-seat, as sinning with a higher hand than any before them, as guilty, indeed, of the darkest sin we can imagine, knowingly and wilfully "teaching and encouraging men *to reject Christ*," simply because they believe and declare him to be, what he himself, and his Father, and the disciples proclaim, the Son of God.

It is because of this singular weakness and boldness combined, that we have adduced any proofs of our doctrine. It is mortifying, to be obliged to repeat these rudiments, to go back to the first principles of interpretation, in this age of the world. The truth of the simple unity and supremacy of the Father, is as sure to our mind as his existence. And we believe it is so to most minds. We never heard a Trinitarian explain his doctrine, we never talked with one, minister or layman, who did not evidently think of God and Christ as separate, and did not in words make a distinction between them. And if there be any distinction, where is the sameness or singleness? If you can even speak of equality, where is the identity? Mr. Adams, in the book which he formerly published on the Unitarian belief, says, in defence of the Trinity, that the thought of *society* and *intercommunion* in the Godhead is inexpressibly delightful." Is it in the power of the human mind to conceive of "society and intercommunion," without plurality, or any manner of inequality? No. Mr. Adams may say what he will of others, his own language, and we believe, his clearest conception, defines two separate beings, whenever he speaks or thinks of God and Christ. So is it with many, if not all, of his faith. And this is one of the most pitiable aspects of the position he assumes by this denunciation, that it includes multitudes, who are called by his own name. Take the forty or fifty widely different definitions, that have been given by Trinitarians themselves of their chief doctrine, take the nominal, shadowy distinctions, which exist between most of these defini-

tions and our own belief, then take the thousands, in all denominations, who have never read much, perhaps never talked of this doctrine, but who, when they do read and talk of it, and especially when they hear Unitarian expositions of it, declare that this is what they believe, and no more; that they never once supposed, that Christ was *precisely* the same as the Father; how many will there be left, that are not, in this respect Unitarians? Our differing brethren have enough to do with their own churches, their own presbyteries, their own theological schools, and their own struggling minds. Let them look to these, and leave us to our Bibles, our consciences, and our Judge.

A similar view might be taken of the other doctrines, the rejection of which, as this sermon says, is of all offences most injurious to Christ, — his *vicarious sacrifice*. The word “vicarious,” or some corresponding term, is constantly used by Mr. Adams, thus insisting, that not only the atonement, but this special form of the atonement, is essential, and its denial fatal. Here, again, he exposes both his weakness and his exclusiveness. He involves himself in a difficulty, from which few have been able to escape, and he involves multitudes of all sects in the like condemnation with ourselves. What proportion of the Christian church has believed in a strictly “vicarious” atonement? What proportion of those Christians, now deemed Orthodox, hold this view? Why, if the question could be so disposed of, we should be willing to leave it to this decision. If you will get at the true history of the Church, both as to the Trinity and the Atonement, and can learn the state of individual minds, honest and independent, we have no fear of the result. But woe unto Christendom, if the tribunal which this sermon erects be the last appeal.

What is the meaning of “vicarious,” as applied to Christ's death? In any strict and proper sense, it is, that Christ suffered and died, literally, *in our stead*. Why, then, do we suffer and die? The assertion, that Christ died “for us,” we all receive. But the words “for us” will bear two interpretations; the one, “for our benefit,” the other, “in our stead.” The former has expressed the general doctrine of the Church, on the subject of atonement. Most Christians, in whatever way they have explained, have been content to assert and believe, and require only the belief, that Christ died for our benefit, for our

salvation. Calvinistic writers, of the highest standing, have stated this to be all that should be held essential on this point, all that can be known ; namely, as Murdock expresses it, " that there is forgiveness with God for the penitent believer, on account of something which Christ has done or suffered." The penitent believer. There is the point, and there the essential faith, that unites all Christians ; the only point, that does unite even those of the Orthodox name ; the simple point, to which you must, and all practically do, reduce the doctrine of atonement. It is, that *penitence* is made the indispensable condition of salvation ; penitence, in its wide and true sense, as the state of a soul, humbling itself before God, submitting itself wholly to his will, and striving to do his will in all things. Wherever this effect is produced in any soul, by the contemplation of God and communion with his spirit, by the action of the whole truth, life, death, and resurrection of Christ, that soul is reconciled. The atonement is effected. Whereas, if this result be not produced in the individual, whatever he may believe, and whatever has been done for him or for the world, he is unreconciled, he is yet in his sins.

We state this, very briefly, not only as our own faith, in substance, but as the faith, in substance, and practically, of all Christians ; and as that, beyond which there is no entire union, among even those who account themselves most orthodox. Even the hard and harsh Magee says ; " I know not, nor does it concern me to know, in what manner the sacrifice of Christ is connected with the forgiveness of sins ; it is enough, that this is declared by God to be the medium, through which my salvation is effected." But Mr. Adams does know, it seems, and knows, too, that it is an unpardonable sin in others not to know, not to believe and preach. He tells us " the manner." It is " vicarious." The sufferings of Christ are a *substitute* for ours. Even his sufferings on earth are in the nature of visitation or punishment. " We believe, that his being forsaken was in connexion with his being ' made an offering for sin.' " Thus have we the full doctrine of literal sin-offering, expiation, satisfaction, returning upon us after long absence. A few modern writers have, indeed, advanced this form of the atonement in words, but they have explained it to mean something as little like " vicarious " as possible. They have illustrated it by the sufferings which a parent voluntarily undergoes for a sick or vicious child, and the blood which the patriot sheds for

his country ! This is a kind of substitution, if such they choose to call it, in which we believe as firmly as any. And if Mr. Adams mean this, or anything like it, when he speaks of "vicarious sacrifice," and the "atoning Saviour," he needs not doom us as he does. On the other hand, if he mean strict substitution, literal imputation both of sin and of righteousness, he will do well to consider how many he dooms, of his own and every name. We have not heard, we have not dreamed of such a doctrine being now held by scholars, if by any, until we heard, very recently, a Baptist clergyman advance, and attempt to establish, a similar view, at an Installation. And what was his mode of proof ? Chiefly this ; that the original word for Atonement is expressed by the Latin "*commutatio*," and "*commutatio*" means "commutation," or *substitution*. We refer to this as showing what the sermon before us shows, how far mere words may impose, both upon those who use and those who hear them. It is one of the curious and mournful proofs of human fallibility, not to say arrogance, that some of our differing brethren are now averring, that Unitarians do wrong, and should be ashamed, when they even use the words "atonement," "grace," "sin," "Saviour," "Redeemer," &c. ; because, verily, they do not mean the same thing by these words, that we Trinitarians and Calvinists mean. It is for this reason, probably, that Mr. Adams warns his people, though indirectly and with a profession of candor, against hearing Unitarians preach ; as in these mild terms. "Whether you shall listen to their professed denial and rejection of a divine, atoning Saviour, I leave to your own judgment. A sense of duty may, perhaps, lead you sometimes to think, that you ought to bear the trial. But if I knew that my dearest earthly friend was to be traduced at some public meeting," — we cannot go on with this sickening assumption and wicked calumny.

We have allowed more space to the doctrine, if so it may be called, in this sermon, than we intended. It demands some remarks on its spirit. It does not seem to us to be the Christian spirit. It is professedly kind, even affectionate, toward those whom it reproves. And we trust, that in this the preacher was sincere. We trust, that he really designed to be affectionate, and supposed that he was so. We will not judge his motives, nor doubt his word when he says, "I deprecate sectarian hatred and contentions, or the use of personal invective, or the violation of the law of kindness in word or deed." But we do re-

gret, that his law of kindness is so very imperfect. Is there no "injury done to Christ," in such an unauthorized and flagrant departure from His law? Look at the very face of the sermon. Read its text, — "I verily thought, that I ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth." Then observe the plan. First, a description of Saul, the persecutor and blasphemer, then an allusion to Peter denying his master, "with oaths and curses," then the picture of Judas "with fiendish men," then the "horrid game" of mockery, cruelty, and crucifixion; and after this preparation, the following passages;

"They are not bigoted Jews, nor Roman soldiers, nor Pharisæic zealots, who, in this way, now reject Christ. They are men, who have been educated under the light of Christianity, some of them the children of pious parents, who offered them in baptism to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost, one God, and instructed them, that Jesus Christ died to atone for their sins. Some of their intimate friends, who once, like them, rejected Christ's divinity and vicarious sacrifice, have been converted, and have solemnly expostulated with them no longer thus to injure Christ, and remove the only Scriptural hope of salvation for man. But still, some preach and write against the divine, atoning Lamb of God, in a way that chills the blood of every one, to whom Jesus Christ as a divine Redeemer is precious. Some abolish the Lord's Supper as too gross and Jewish for their spiritual minds; some, enumerating great and wise men, put Jesus Christ amongst them; some use opprobrious expressions concerning the atonement; and some publicly thank God, that they need no Mediator with atoning blood.

"Let me not even seem to arraign them as though they had not the same liberty of speech and conscience with others. Towards them personally I am conscious of kind feelings, but against their denial of Jesus Christ as equal with God, and of his atonement for sin, I would 'speak with all boldness, as I ought to speak.' I think it impossible to conceive of any injury which Christ has ever received from men, that can wound him more than their deliberate, professional denial and rejection, in public and private, of his Godhead and atoning sacrifice. Men in other days, who had been taught by their religious guides, that Christ was an impostor, knew not what they did when they crucified him. Saul of Tarsus was ignorant in his unbelief; — would that there were more reason to think that of some who now reject the deity and atonement of Christ we ought to say, 'They know not what they do.' " — pp. 6, 7.

We have seen and heard some hard things against Unitarians ; such as made us pity the consciences or creeds of the authors. But we do not remember a more deliberate, studied, unpardonable accusation, than this. Others may have equalled, none have surpassed it. It is the implication of hypocrisy, wilful error, shameless perjury, and the lowest corruption. Show us any class of men, who are uttering what Unitarians utter, in their prayers, sermons, and conversation, who yet *know*, that they are uttering falsehood, (and if the insinuation alone, and the whole temper of the discourse do not mean that, they have no meaning,) who are guilty, in the very name of Christ, at his own table, of consciously injuring, rejecting, traducing him, — there are no sinners, no wretches on the earth, though steeped in iniquity, of whom we should not have more hope. There is not a man living, against whom we would pass such condemnation, as is thus expressed or implied. And here is a man, yea, a people, speaking, lauding, diffusing such imputation upon the characters of some of the best men who have lived and died, upon the countless many, of every name, who have held what is here stamped heresy, upon an indiscriminate denomination of the living and acting among us, who as students, laymen, preachers, laborers, are giving their minds to the deep study, their hearts to the spirit, their lives to the work, at least the humble and earnest *hope*, of advancing the kingdom of Christ and the salvation of men. Yet this is no “ violation of the law of kindness in word or deed ! ”

The allusion to “ some who abolish the Lord’s Supper,” &c. &c., and the naming these offences as chargeable upon our denomination or doctrine, is nefarious. As honorable would it be in us, to charge folly or immorality upon a whole sect of Orthodox Christians, because individuals have been guilty. Mr. Adams knows, or should know, that not one minister among us has “ abolished the Lord’s Supper ; ” that only one has proposed the disuse or modification of it, and this only from views similar to those of the Friends, views, however, which led to no change, even in the church concerned. Equally just, equally fair, are the other insinuations which follow this, in the extract above.

In the latter half of his sermon, Mr. Adams gives “ utterance to his feelings, in a solemn and affectionate appeal ” to Unitarians themselves, as “ some who are not here.” His first affirmation

is; "In denying the supreme deity of Jesus Christ, and his vicarious sacrifice for sins, you are destroying the confidence of men in the credibility of the Bible. In order to disprove these truths, you are obliged to pronounce many passages of Scripture to be 'interpolations,' and 'spurious texts.'" Here is another intimation of bad motives, and another erroneous statement of fact. We are not "obliged," in any way, to disprove truths, which we have never seen proved; and we are not capable of wilfully perverting God's word, "in order" to rid ourselves of the truth, and perjure our own souls, and doom our hearers to perdition. Neither is it a fact, that *our* preaching destroys "the confidence of men in the credibility of the Bible." If anything can be proved, it is, that some other preaching has done infinitely more to impair men's confidence in the Bible, and injure their respect and reverence for religion itself. If any system of faith has made men infidels, it is Calvinism. We do not say, that this has done it, for we know too little of individual minds and hearts, to be the judge of the prevailing influences in any case of unbelief. But we do know, that many have ascribed their unbelief to their early education as Calvinists, and among many more, who have been saved from infidelity, have suffered to the last from the effect of early doctrinal instruction on their minds, and on their interest in the Bible. We do know, that not a few, clergy as well as laity, have expressed their devout gratitude for the clearer views of truth, the stronger faith, brighter and happier hope, which liberal Christianity has brought to them. And it is our deliberate conviction, that if this Christianity could be fairly presented now to the minds of all unbelievers, and all Trinitarians, a large proportion of them would welcome it as a friend, and find in it their redemption. Of course, if it were so, and just so far as already it is seen or known to be so, our brethren say it is because this kind of religion is grateful and flattering to the corrupt desires of the natural heart. But see, friends, if this reasoning do not prove too much, since it is precisely *your* kind of religion, if any, that must be pronounced popular! More than one have we known, to whom, apparently, this was its chief recommendation; while many are prevented from inquiring into our views, or owning their interest in them, through their want of favor and of numbers.

In this connexion, Mr. Adams asks, "why there have never been some amongst the learned and conscientious believers in

that doctrine, (the deity of Christ,) who, in their better moments, or on their dying beds, were constrained to warn men, that this doctrine had no Scriptural foundation?" Does this question mean to imply, or did he who put it wish his hearers to infer, that no "learned and conscientious" Trinitarians have been compelled to abandon their doctrine, and have taught and warned others against it? He knows, and some at least of his people know, that a host of strong and pure minds, in all countries and every age of the Church, have turned, "in their better moments," from Trinitarianism to Unitarianism. He knows, that we can point to many of the highest names for learning and piety in England and America, as examples. And we know, that during the very last year, eight or ten clergymen, in different parts of our own country, have passed from the Orthodox ministry or theological schools into our schools and churches, and are now teaching men, that their first faith "has no Scriptural foundation." There is both a good example and good counsel, for our present purpose, in Dr. Watts's "Solemn Address to the Deity," all of it most excellent, and part of it quite to the point. "Hadst thou told me plainly, in any single text, that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are three real distinct persons in thy divine nature, I had never suffered myself to be bewildered in so many doubts, nor embarrassed with so many strong fears of assenting to the mere inventions of men, instead of divine doctrine."

We thought of remarking on the manner in which we are here accused of rejecting certain texts, and "disparaging our canon of Scripture." But it is enough to say, that we reject nothing, which we find to be Scripture, and that there is scarcely a single text, which we take away from the support of the Trinity, &c., that has not been relinquished by some prominent Trinitarian. As regards alterations of the English version, we commend the author of the sermon to his brother Winslow's book on the Trinity, where several passages are ingeniously drawn into the support of his doctrine, by changing a word or so, particularly by making such expressions as "God, and the Lord Jesus Christ," read "God, even the Lord Jesus Christ." So "the great God and our Saviour" becomes "the great God, even our Saviour;" and the assertion is immediately made, "the GREAT GOD is, then, none other than Jesus Christ." Again, that very difficult passage for a Trinitarian, "of that day and that hour, knoweth no man, no, not the an-

gels, which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father," is turned into, "of that day and that hour, no man should make known," &c.* Whether these translations are authorized, is a question of criticism, with which we have now no concern. But the mere fact of a change subjects one man or one sect to the same condemnation as another. And when, again, Mr. Adams talks of "the plain and obvious sense" of Scripture language, we have to remind him of the kind of construction which he puts upon much of our Lord's most solemn declaration in regard to himself, and ask him if the convenient supposition of a "double nature," as a principle of interpretation, accords with his idea of "the plain and obvious sense." We are amazed to read what he writes about the providence of God preserving the revelation "substantially pure from age to age," as if this applied to a human English version. And if it does, what will he make of the fact, how explain it to his people, if he ever name it, that while this common version was made by Trinitarians, and printed as late as 1611, it underwent numerous alterations in the first half century of its existence, and that even now our modern Bibles differ in so many instances from the first edition, that an English Baptist clergyman enumerates them by thousands.† Moreover, we cannot believe Mr. Adams to be ignorant of the fact, that his own friends, both abroad and at home, have printed the Bible in new forms, with some important modifications, and occasional notes, that alter the text materially; at the same time, that his Baptist brethren are insisting on a version of their own, which shall read just as *they* think it ought to read. In the face of such facts, is it candid, is it Christian, to brand as criminal the same conduct in Unitarians, supposing it to be the same, and denounce it as "disparaging our canon of Scripture?" "Thou that teachest another, teachest thou not thyself?"

It is time for ministers to be men. It is time, if we cannot be brethren, to cease to be mutual accusers. If there be a childish and ridiculous exhibition of oneself, it is the assuming of a tone of infallibility, or of dictation and crimination on account of difference of opinion. At this day, and in this community, it is pitiable. And when it proceeds to the scrutiny of motives,

* Winslow on the Trinity, pp. 41 and 56.

† We are pleased to see these facts freely stated by Dr. Coit, in the Preface to his new Paragraph Bible.

when it charges or intimates a wilful opposition to God and persecution of Christ, when it tells others, that men are likely "to lose the blessedness of heaven, because you taught or encouraged them to reject Christ," and may "perish with the wicked, because you prevented them from sitting, like Mary, at their Saviour's feet," — we lack words to express our disgust, our sense of wrong and evil not to ourselves, but to Christianity and the cause of truth and charity. Think us wrong our Orthodox opponents must, and as we do them. Expose our errors, reprove our faults, they may, as we do and shall theirs. But to mark us as hypocrites, to call us rejecters of truth, and traducers of Christ, in whom is our hope and life, to lead hearers and readers to infer, if not directly to assert, that Unitarians alter, corrupt, or reject the Scriptures, to suit their convenience, *this* is, first, falsehood, then calumny, then atrocity.

We have no fears for liberal Christianity. We were never more assured of its progress. Men will call themselves by what name they please. We care little, whether they take our name or another, so long as we see the proof we now see, more and more every year, that all sects and classes are coming to the simple, rational, Scriptural, saving truths, which we hold. God speed them, and make us and all faithful!

E. B. H.

ART. VI. — 1. *The Solemn Week. A Sermon, preached to the First Church, on Fast Day, April 8, 1841.* By its Minister, N. L. FROTHINGHAM. Boston. 1841.

2. *A Discourse, delivered at Dedham, May 14, 1841, the Day of the National Fast, on occasion of the Death of William H. Harrison, late President of the United States.* By ALVAN LAMSON, D. D. Dedham. 1841.

3. *Sermon, delivered on the Fast Day, in memory of the late President Harrison.* By WM. B. O. PEABODY. Springfield. 1841.

4. *A Sermon, preached May 14, 1841, being the National Fast, occasioned by the Death of President Harrison.* By EDWARD B. HALL, Pastor of the First Church in Providence. Providence. 1841.

5. *Eulogy on William Henry Harrison, late President of the United States, delivered before the citizens of New Bedford, April 27, 1841.* By EPHRAIM PEABODY. New Bedford. 1841.
6. *A Discourse, on the occasion of the Death of William H. Harrison, ninth President of the United States. Delivered at Roxbury, April 16, 1841.* By GEORGE PUTNAM, Minister of the First Church in Roxbury. Boston. 1841.
7. *A Sermon, delivered on Fast Day, May 14.* By Rev. GEO. F. SIMMONS, Pastor of the Independent Congregational Church in Waltham. Waltham. 1841.

THESE discourses and eulogies having been placed in our hands, we think we shall consult alike the gratification of our readers, and the dignity and value of our pages, by allowing them to speak for us the sentiments excited in every breast by the lamented death of President Harrison, and which we should in vain attempt ourselves to express as well. They are all by clergymen of our own denomination; and discourses more worthy of the occasion, more honorable to their authors, more abounding with the best maxims of political and religious wisdom, more profitable to the hearer as a citizen, a Christian, a man, we do not believe are to be found among the multitude, by clergymen of every various communion, which the press has sent forth. We would gladly have added a notice of discourses delivered on the same sad occasion by ministers of other denominations, but we have received none, and have seen extracts but from a few, in the public prints. Of the whole, those parts gave the most favorable impression. Never, indeed, we believe, did the clergy of all sects meet any similar occasion in a better spirit, or throw more ability into their performances, or bring before their congregations with more emphasis more serious and affecting views of Christian truth. And it is a grateful reflection, that the interest in the occasion, which called forth so remarkably the full energies of the mind of the writer, sprung not from the Day, recommended by authority to be observed as a day of fasting and prayer, from nothing formal or conventional, but from a sincere respect, almost amounting to veneration, for the character, — the moral and religious character more than the political and military, — the private character as well as the public, — the Christian virtues of the distinguished man, whose sudden loss has plunged a nation in sorrow. It was all a heart-

offering. Nothing is more striking than this delightful fact, in any one of the sermons named at the head of our article, that may be taken as its test.

We proceed to offer as full selections as our limits will allow, from the several discourses.

The discourse of Mr. Frothingham, entitled "The Solemn Week," (from Daniel ii. 20, 21, 22,) was delivered on the annual Fast of our State, which occurred on the Thursday succeeding the Sunday, on which President Harrison died. The first portions of the Sermon having been devoted to topics of a general or local interest, it is only in the closing paragraphs, that Mr. Frothingham refers to the great national bereavement. These closing paragraphs are as follows.

"Hitherto, I have spoken of this as a solemn week in three respects. First, to Christendom at large, as the week of the Saviour's passion. Next, to the people out of the pale of Christendom, who have received from their progenitors traditions and observances, closely allied to the thoughts of dependence and sin, and to the miseries of our uncertain being. And last, to this Commonwealth and its associates in the annual service, for which we are here assembled. It must be added, before I close, that it is so to this whole nation, whose chief magistrate, so lately elected, has been struck with death in his high seat. That unlooked-for event has thrown a gloom over the country, and awakened so strong a sensibility in the public mind, that the pulpit could not forbear to speak of it, though the first opportunity presented had been one of less peculiar solemnity than this."

"A few days ago, and crowds of men were shouting at the mere sight, or hanging on the fluent lips of the man, whom 'the people delighted to honor,' — and yesterday they followed him in his silent shroud, themselves almost as silent as he. A few days ago, he was the admired head of the greatest republic on earth; — and now, his own head is so low. A few days ago, the theme of all tongues; the object of so wide and various an expectation; the centre for so many eyes; — and now, his own great place knows him no more; no one fears anything from the intrepid soldier, the firm magistrate; and no one hopes anything from him, who had so much to bestow; and the speech of men is of no more consequence to him than his has become to them. A few days ago, and the air might have been thought by some affronted with the waving of banners, the peal of bells, and the salute of cannon, from end to end of the land; — but

already the flag droops at half mast, and the bell tolls as for a funeral, and the shot is the minute gun over the empty name of one departed. What a change is this! How sudden! How great! And it has struck to the heart of this whole people with at least a transient thrill. Would that it might be before their eyes, and in their ears, longer than it is likely to be; that it might teach them of the fragility of their idols, and the hollowness of their applause, and the shame of their bitter contentions; that they might learn to boast less of what they can publicly receive or bestow; and to lean less upon flattering fortune and a contingent life; and to feel the vanity of everything, that is short of a principle; and to look more reverently upward to the Sovereign Authority, whose throne is the only established one, and whose prerogative it is to rule! The event that has just taken place, while it makes vain many a calculation of political foresight, strikes into a calm for a while the agitations of political strife. What room can it leave for any party animosity to intrude? It reads the lesson of humility with a most impartial voice. It checks the fever of selfish passions. It dwindles the stature of popular honors and all earthly success. I believe, that the moral impression it makes supersedes for the time every other. It is little, that he who deserved so well of his country will be universally acknowledged to have deserved well. It will be felt also, that no desert is of much account, that cannot meet the test of a sick room and a hasty summons. It was 'in the year that King Uzziah died,' that the prophet saw in his vision 'the Lord.' There was no throne but his, 'high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple.'

"'I have said, Ye are gods,' we read in the Psalms, 'and all of you children of the Most High. But ye shall die like men;' — like the humblest. Was it not so here, when he, who scarcely moved but in a circle or procession of all that was wise and brave and beautiful, and was thronged with the honors that are most flattering to human pride, lay apart from men's steps and voices, to be inquired after, but not to be seen; when disease, that knows nothing of grandeur, and brings the same demeaning accompaniments under the loftiest ceilings, made the steady mind reel as the frame sunk; and all his authority could not bring one distant friend, though the dearest, to the comfort of his last hours; and an apartment in his farmer's home must have been thought the fittest place of any for him to die in? The offices of religion were addressed but to a solitary and naked soul, retiring from a world that is guilty before God. They spoke of an upper country alone, and a heavenly Redeemer alone, while his life rolled away behind him, — the same vapor

and shade that it has been to the rest. 'Put not your trust in princes; in the son of man, in whom is no help. His breath goeth forth; he returneth to his earth; in that very day his thoughts perish.' " — pp. 10 – 14.

The text of Mr. Lamson's discourse is from the Lamentations of Jeremiah. "The joy of our heart is ceased; our dance is turned to mourning. The crown is fallen from our head, for this our heart is faint; for these things our eyes are dim." Avoiding all topics of history, biography, and mere eulogy, Mr. Lamson aims to deduce from the event commemorated lessons of moral and political wisdom, which with earnestness he presses upon the minds and consciences of his hearers.

"There is a Providence," says Mr. Lamson, "in the affairs of nations as well as of individuals; and to this point allow me now, for a few moments, to call your attention.

"God is great, but he is also just. In his government of his creatures, of the universe, of nations, he proceeds by fixed laws; and those laws have their foundation in an immutable morality. Deep, deep down among the elements of everlasting truth and right, lie the rules of his administration. There is running through the course of empires and communities a principle of retributive justice, which no art nor skill can elude, and no power control. Nothing can long save us after a reverence for morality, public and private, becomes impaired. We may raise armies, we may construct navies, we may man fleets, we may fortify every promontory and harbor, and our whole coast may bristle with bayonets, but they will not preserve the pure spirit of liberty. A corrupt nation God will judge, and he will take away from it the kingdom, and give it to others, who are more worthy. He has placed us all in circumstances of responsibility, and that responsibility we can never throw off. Whether we exercise power, or delegate it to others, we must ever act in obedience to the principles of justice and right. There must be no pandering for the passions; no truckling expediency; no tampering with conscience; no swerving from the rules of a stern morality; no falsehood; no dishonest artifice; no act, no thought, no purpose, which sanctions corruption, or encourages selfishness.

"I fear, that in this respect we are not sufficiently scrupulous. I fear, that there is too much looseness in our views of political morality. I do not say, that morality is discarded from politics, for I do not believe it. But does it receive the homage it ought? Does it stand above all else in our esteem?

"It was my lot, in the course of the last summer, not, however, on a New England soil, to hear an opinion seriously advanced and defended, which seems to me to deserve the reprobation of every true lover of his country, and to be such as can be received by no sound mind. Yet there was nothing in the air and manner in which it was announced, which would lead one to suppose, that the individual was conscious of uttering a sentiment in any way objectionable, and he evidently had no suspicion of the sort. 'No matter,' it was said, 'what a man's moral principles are, provided he is politically sound.' As if a man without moral principle, without integrity, could be trusted in anything, or, to take no higher ground, would hesitate to betray his party should any strong temptation present itself; or as if morality were entitled to no reverence, but were to be wholly passed by, and held of no account, in some of the most responsible acts and situations of our lives; as if the world in the boasted march of improvement, in these modern ages, had outgrown, or will ever outgrow, its necessity and use. I do not believe in any such doctrine. How can you confide in a man, who has no moral principle? How can you be sure, that he will be faithful in the use of the power committed to him, or that he may not prostitute it to accomplish private or base ends? How can you be sure, that he will see right and justice done, or will expose and punish fraud and deception? I fear for the fate of the Republic, when I hear such maxims avowed. I should despair of it, did I think they abounded. But I have a better opinion of the American people than to believe, that sentiments so lax and pernicious, can ever obtain general currency among them.

"I know that politicians, in all ages, have, whether justly or not, been charged with selfishness. But let us not encourage it in them, or in any one else. Let us not accustom ourselves to view selfishness and want of principle as no blemish. Far, far be the day, when there shall be so little of Christianity left among us.

"As we would have God on our side, let us, one and all, in every capacity and trust, public and private, resolve to follow where truth and duty lead the way. Let us be just, and fear not; let us be true; let us be faithful; let us act on Christian principles, and leave the issue to Him, who ruleth in the kingdoms of men. If he is for us, no weapon which is forged against us shall prosper. He may, as now, lay his chastening hand upon us, but he will turn again and bless us, and build up the desolate places; he will plant his banner over us, and he will give us rest.

"Who knows, but that in the event we now bewail, he designs to convey admonitions, which may result in lasting benefit to ourselves and to our nation? He may intend by it to rebuke our selfish passions, and revive among us a spirit of disinterestedness and true patriotism. One lesson we may derive from it in addition to those already mentioned, and that is, to trust to principles, and not men. Men pass away, but principles abide; and this must ever be our consolation when those eminent for station or talents go and leave us. It were well, that we thought more of principles, that we had more faith in them, and were less disposed to worship men. Whatever was good, sound, according to truth and right in him, who has been taken from us, will survive; it perishes not with him; and whatever is not according to truth and right, cannot finally stand, whatever human instruments are employed to sustain it. Error may prevail for a while, but time, which tries all things, ere long lays open the fallacy, and men's minds are disabused. A popular individual may, for a season, give currency to views which are false or unsound, and may help to carry them out to their legitimate results, but no one, however distinguished, can secure for them a permanent reception. So the loss of an individual, whatever space he may have filled in the public eye, cannot prevent the final triumph of a righteous cause. The affairs of the world do not thus rest on a single man. God is infinite, and can never want instruments to execute his purposes, whether they relate to states or to individuals, to save or to destroy." — pp. 11–15.

"All Israel had lamented," is the text of Mr. Peabody of Springfield. From it he discourses of three tendencies of republics, noticeable in the Hebrew commonwealth, and strikingly manifest, he thinks, also, in our own. These are, to distrust politicians and statesmen by profession, to honor virtue before talent, to acknowledge and bend to the power of moral character before all other, illustrated in the modern instances of Washington and President Harrison.

From the second head of the discourse, we make the following selection.

"The next tendency of popular feeling in republics, which is seen in the ancient example and confirmed in modern times, is to pay respect to virtue rather than talent, — to heart rather than head. It is commonly supposed, that great ability is necessary to hold the first place in a republic with honor and advantage; and this is true; but it should also be felt, that con-

science and principle are an essential part of ability ; no man can be really wise to discern the best course nor steady to follow it, without that strong moral sense, which lifts him above the disturbing influences of passion, interest, and party. Right intentions are not enough without sagacity and wisdom ; but if we must have one without the other, I would say a thousand times, give us the right heart and the clear conscience, and save us from that ability, which is not always directed and governed by a sense of duty. The ancient Hebrews felt thus. There were men more brilliant than Samuel ; but there were none, whose influence could be compared with his ; and in our own country, we know that mere talent, where there was not at the same time a strong faith in its integrity, never made its way to the nation's heart. In our history, there has not arisen a greater than Hamilton ; in everything he was preëminently great ; no one of the present generation doubts his public honor ; but he was believed to be ambitious ; and on that account he could not gain influence beyond the limit of an admiring party. There are also living examples to show, that gigantic powers may be admired, and yet command no attachment ; selfish coldness darkens their lustre ; the nation feels as if no amount of intellectual ability could make up for the want of heart. It is hardly necessary to remind you, that in our own days, we have seen a distinguished President carry all before him by this reputation of a warm and honest heart ; without this, his military fame would have gone for nothing ; no one claimed for him, that he was a man of great talent, but a majority of the nation believed that he was upright, manly, and clear-hearted ; and that confidence was enough to bear him successfully through, against the opposition of the mighty. And how was it with him, whose loss we lament to-day ? Did he not come forward with a commanding air among the men of great talent who surrounded him, sustained above them all, by the general confidence in his generosity, patriotism, and honor ; and was he not followed with an affectionate reverence, which never was paid to talent, however great ? It was so, and it will be so. While the powers of great men are coldly acknowledged — before virtue, real or imagined, a nation's heart will kindle, and a nation will bend the knee.

“ Does any one wish that it were otherwise ? It cannot be till human nature itself is altered. From the earliest ages it was felt, long before the harp had sounded it in words, that ‘ an honest man's the noblest work of God ; ’ other things may be great and excellent, but this is the noblest of them all. We look at men of great talent with a sort of wonder ; we gaze at their

intellectual operations as at the movement of some mighty engine, which rolls in darkness and silence, harmonious, irresistible, and grand, shearing the iron bar as calmly as if it was the silk-worm's thread; we admire its power and its results, — but there is no approach to warmth or enthusiasm in our feeling. These are not the things which make tides of feeling rise in the heart till they glisten in the eye. What reader of history asks what Regulus was? When he keeps his word and goes back to Carthage, knowing that he shall be barbarously murdered there, every heart thrills with admiration. We care not, if he was an able general or not, because we know, that he was something infinitely greater. When the dying Sydney gives to the wounded soldier the untasted water, that was brought him on the field of battle, where he lay, if we are told, that he was unequalled among the men of that day for his beauty, talent, and every accomplishment, what will it all add to our admiration of that heavenly deed? Do not lament, then, nor consider it a misfortune, that men in republics are disposed to make virtue the first object of their reverence and love. They may sometimes be mistaken in applying the principle; they may sometimes be deceived; but the disposition to do homage to virtue is surely itself a virtue; it cannot be an error; it cannot be a sin; Christianity approves it; and the same disposition will only become more enlightened, consistent, and powerful, as the Sun of Righteousness towers to the perfect day." — pp. 18 – 20.

Under the third head, after speaking of the influence of the character of Washington, the preacher turns to that of Harrison.

"But while the one, the only Washington, will be felt over all the earth, I am persuaded, that within the limits of our country we shall see an influence of character exerted by him, whose loss we commemorate to-day. He has left a memory unstained by selfishness, ambition, or any low personal feeling; he is acknowledged to have been firm, and generous, and just. And since it has been seen what a hold this character gave him upon the respect and affection of his countrymen, his death, in the blaze of his fame, may teach the aspiring, that the way of moderation, wisdom, and virtue, — though now it has only here and there a traveller in it, — is, nevertheless, the true highway to a nation's heart. If, though dead, he can speak this great truth to the ears of common ambition, we cannot say, that he has lived or died in vain. The hour when men were most alive to this unpretending merit, was the very hour for him to die; for when the hearts of men were melted with emotion was the very mo-

ment for death to stamp his broad black seal, and make an impression, that shall never wear away.

“ Since I speak of the influence of his character, you will naturally expect me to describe it, which I can do, in reference to what has been said, by showing that his merits were of that unpretending kind, which the public does well to appreciate and to honor, whether it aims to secure its own interests, or to approve what is really great and good. It is commonly thought, our nation is dazzled out of its senses by the poor glare of military fame; but the truth seems to be, that military services have placed some of our distinguished men before the public eye, and because the public saw in them, or thought they saw, a straightforward honesty and singleness of heart, they have given them an enthusiastic applause, which they would not have given had those qualities been wanting, and have drawn out from private life to office and honor, those whom they would not have trusted and honored while at the head of armies, and before they had laid aside their arms. When the nation looked on the career of our departed chief, it saw, that he had endeavored, with such ability as God gave him, faithfully to serve his country; that he had never abused his power to any purpose of violence, injury, or revenge; that he had suffered opportunities to enrich himself to pass unheeded by him; therefore the nation said, that he was the man to exert the right moral influence in the high places of his country.

“ When the ancient Hebrew, of whom I have spoken, was taking his farewell of public life after many years spent in the service of his country, he came to the great council where the nation was assembled, and then gave notice of his determination to retire. He there made a solemn appeal to each one, who had been injured by his administration, to come forward and charge him with it in the face of all. Any one, who had been defrauded by his means or his neglect, — any one who had been oppressed by his misuse of power, — any one who knew, or had reason to suspect him guilty of anything like selfishness and corruption, was desired to make it known in that presence, that he might defend himself, if innocent, and acknowledge it and make reparation if he had been guilty. The people were struck with the solemnity of this appeal, with the conscious integrity which it displayed, and with the moral sublimity of such a closing scene. With one voice they replied, ‘ thou hast never defrauded us nor oppressed us, neither hast thou taken aught from any man’s hand!’ And the general persuasion is, that if our departed chief could break the long slumber of the tomb, if he could speak with a voice which should sound throughout the

land, and pointing to his half century of public service, should call on the quick and dead, who had suffered by his means, to rise and bear witness against him, the same honorable testimony would be given, both by the living and the dead, by those at rest in the grave, and those who are leaning over it. 'Thou hast never defrauded or oppressed us, neither hast thou taken aught from any man's hand.' Therefore he was honored while living, — therefore he is lamented now.

"His mourners are two hosts, — his friends and foes."

————— 'he kept

The whiteness of his soul, and thus men o'er him wept."

"But his merits in this respect were greater than is implied in mere freedom from corruption and abuse of power. To illustrate this I will mention one or two incidents, which were told me by a person who knew him well, and who had not the least concern with politics or party. Long before the eyes of the community were opened on the subject of Temperance, he had a distillery on his estate; the profits of it were very great; but on looking about, he saw that it was sending misery into dwellings, which might otherwise be happy; that it was bringing death, and even worse than death, upon many immortal souls. Shocked at the reflection, he resolved that no consideration of interest should induce him to be the means of destroying others, and he ordered the doors to be shut at once and forever. It was no ordinary man, who could thus make up his mind in the face of his interest, and make a sacrifice to his conscience, which was not then demanded by the public voice. So, too, a decision of the court of law unexpectedly made him the proprietor of a large tract of the land on which one of the western cities stands. Those who held the lands, which were then built over, came to him to know his terms. But he told them that his was only a legal claim, and would avail him nothing for the want of justice and right; 'so,' said he, 'keep possession, and you never shall be disturbed by me or mine.' The world calls such men conscientious; Christianity calls them great. Fortunate is the land, in which such merits are understood." — pp. 21, 22.

Mr. Hall's Discourse, like Mr. Peabody's, is strictly in the spirit of the occasion, dealing less in eulogy than in the thoughts appropriate to a day of national humiliation. It is from the words in Proverbs; "Righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin is a reproach to any people." He follows the natural division suggested by the text, and speaks first of the sin that may be com-

mitted by a nation as a nation — for which, however, the individuals of that nation are held justly accountable — but which can be atoned for only by the people, as individuals. He then passes to Righteousness as an individual and national attribute, and thus speaks.

“**RIGHTEOUSNESS.** It is the attribute of an individual mind and life. Yet it exalteth a nation. Every portion of its existence and influence, in the meanest or the loftiest of the land, helps to leaven the entire mass. Every effort, the gentlest expression, the calmest remonstrance, the humble and the high example, in behalf of right, local, moral, universal right, goes to dignify and bless a land. The power of a single upright man, private or public, short or long his career, cannot be limited or calculated. And its reward, — will you weigh it against any other? ‘The memorial thereof is immortal; because it is known with God, and with men. When it is present, men take example of it; and when it is gone, they desire it; it weareth a crown, and triumpheth forever, having gotten the victory, striving for undefiled rewards.’

“**Righteousness.** It is essential to true greatness in the nation, in the ruler, and in every citizen. Nations, it is true, have borne themselves as if they cared not for such greatness. The honor for which they have clamored, in which they have gloried, has been of a far different kind. They have been jealous for this honor. Every nation is suspiciously and often foolishly sensitive to the slightest stain upon its banner, or its story. Yet how many, while they have kept these from reproach, have been guilty of injustice, among themselves or toward others, such as no powers of diplomacy and no glory of arms could expiate. Many lessons have some of the first nations of Europe read to the world, of this kind. France, in her worst days of libertinism and blood, prided herself upon her great rulers and invincible armies. Did she win a renown, which any people on the earth would covet? England is a great nation. There is none greater, according to all common, and many true estimates; none richer in historical interest, in the wealth of mind, of commerce and enterprise, in a dominion that circles the earth. But how sadly has her greatness been more than once tarnished by acts of oppression and wrong! How painfully is it now obscured, by the inconsistency which holds millions still in bondage, whom it might release, and the sordidness which apparently would expose a vast empire to the most dreadful evils, for the paltry object of a lucrative trade! Let England, at this moment, in either of these relations, do justice, show generosity and

Christian magnanimity, how incomparably, beyond all other glories, would this one act of righteousness elevate that great kingdom, in the eyes even of the common world.

"And if of nations, much more of rulers as *men*, and of every independent mind, is righteousness the true greatness. It cannot be said, in the common meaning of words, that it is greatness even in connexion with weakness and meanness of intellect. But it is the chief and essential element of all enduring greatness. Even alone, it will accomplish more and exalt higher, than any other attribute or capacity alone. But the day has not come for its full power on the earth, or just appreciation. Strange, melancholy is the standard, by which we yet judge of greatness. According to this, as it commonly prevails, it may be doubted if Washington would be pronounced a great man, or the good Lafayette, — certainly not Fenelon, or Howard, or Oberlin. Many minds, must we say most minds, even in countries called Christian, would turn rather, for the image of greatness, to the Man of Destiny; whose highest ambition was to make his countrymen all soldiers, his family kings, and himself the sovereign of kings, — who caused or accepted human hecatombs as tributes to his glory, — who wantonly doomed one of the richest isles of the sea, and one of the noblest spirits of the age, though of a sable race, to devastation and death, — who yet uttered not, to the latest hour of his life, a word or sign of compunction, but affixed to his last image the stamp of an inconceivable littleness, added to all his enormities, by bequeathing a large sum to the ruffian, charged with attempting to assassinate his rival and victor, Wellington! * — pp. 10–13.

The preacher concludes with a brief tribute to the character and virtues of the President.

"The fame of Harrsion is not of an amazing or overwhelming kind. His was no giant intellect, no overpowering eloquence, no unrivalled statesmanship, or conquering ambition, or astounding enterprise. Yet to whom, save one, has the heart of a mighty nation paid a more spontaneous or enviable tribute? Why is it? It is because his own warm and great heart beat

* In the fourth codicil to his *Last Will and Testament* found in the Appendix to Scott's Life of Napoleon, stands this clause;

"5. *Item.* Ten thousand francs to the subaltern officer Cantallon, who has undergone a trial, upon the charge of having endeavored to assassinate Lord Wellington, of which he was pronounced innocent. Cantallon had as much right to assassinate that *Oligarchist*, as the latter had to send me to perish on the rock of St. Helena," &c.

ever for the good, for the *good* of his country and his race. It is because righteousness was his strength, and truth his daring. Doubtless there are many, to whom these were not the attractions, and are not now the themes of praise. Politics and party, pride and interest, will account for much. Give them all that any can in reason ask, you will leave many, many, whose chief ground of hope was his honesty, whose cause of attachment was his disinterested as well as uniform fidelity, whose gush of sorrow at the first sound of the sad knell was the tribute of a free heart to a true man, and every man's friend; and whose eulogy now, as it still floats upon the air, is profound reverence for a soul, which the lust of power never enslaved, which the touch of gold never cankered, to which friend or foe never fixed a stigma, on which, through a public career of half a century, not a stain of vice or cruelty or meanness or selfishness, rested. Say what you will beside of him, his opinions or his party, think much or little of his varied life, believe his talents to be over-rated, and his exploits magnified, I will not stay to dispute it, though the archives and voices of the nation deny it. There is enough in the traits just named, accorded by all, and by many of the opponents with a generosity and grief as honorable to them as to him, there is enough to ennoble the character, and make fragrant his memory in all coming generations. With mingled humility and joy, we thank God, that a just man and a faithful servant, one not afraid to do right, and *not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ*, has been borne on the arms of millions to the highest seat of our proud republic, and there died, as he lived, true to himself, true to his country, in the fear of God, and the hope of heaven." — pp. 13–15.

The Eulogy of Mr. Peabody of New Bedford, delivered before the citizens of that place previously to the appointment by the President of a national Fast day, is chiefly devoted to a rapid but comprehensive sketch of the public services and private character of General Harrison. This sketch is too long for our pages, and possesses too much unity to be divided without injury. From the introduction to the discourse, in which Mr. Peabody considers the spontaneous movement of the people in showing their respect for the deceased President, as in part an expression of their sentiment of reverence for law and the constituted authorities of the country, we offer a brief passage.

"As chief magistrate, a President of the United States is upheld in his place not by fleets and armies and treasuries, not by one party alone, but by all parties together, by this universal

respect for laws, which all believe to be wise and useful. He is the highest representative of those laws; he is honored, if for nothing else, because of his place; he receives dignity from the laws which he is appointed to enforce, and while he lives and is not unfaithful to his duty, the whole people, their power embodied in the laws of the land, surround and elevate and enshrine him, and when he dies, the regret of a nation follows him to the tomb. While living, the majesty and power of the people meet in him as their centre and representative, and when dead the majesty and power of the people hallow his grave and make it memorable to all ages. Were it otherwise, were a chief magistrate of this people, chosen by their free suffrages, to die unheeded, it would be proclaiming to the world, that we looked not only with indifference on one, who, to the world, was the representative of our institutions, but with contempt on the institutions, which gave him his place and power.

"But such indifference is not felt. On his death, we have seen all parties touched as by a common loss, and coming forward with a common readiness to honor his memory. In this temporary silence of party strife, in the general sadness with which all watched the daily accounts of his failing strength, in the universal gloom, which, like a cloud, passed over the land, when the news of his death arrived, in temples clad in mourning, in the immediate union of all to pay these last sad rites to the dead, we behold not merely respect for an individual man, but reverence for the sovereignty and sanctity of those institutions, of which, for the time, he was the representative.

"It seems altogether fit, that we should dwell on these circumstances. They teach us lessons, which we too readily forget. They show us, that if we have separate and local and party interests, we have, also, infinitely greater in magnitude, common interests. They make us feel, that these embittered party strifes relate, after all, only to subordinate questions; that below all these, the foundation of our strength, are those institutions, as to whose worth and in whose support all are agreed, — institutions so much transcending in importance all the party questions of the day, that without them, parties and patriotism and freedom itself would disappear in the monotony of despotism, or the unbridled license of anarchy. And may we not also hope, that as the feuds of a family are sometimes cooled down by the loss of one of its members, so our embittered strifes may be calmed by the presence of death in our high places, and that some, at least, may learn to be patriotic without being passionate, and to be zealous in what they esteem a good cause, without ceasing to be generous and just towards their opponents.

Happy beyond the lot of man will have been his career, and its close crowned with surpassing glory, if he, who in life did so much to protect his country from foreign foes, may in death, heal its internal divisions and the wounds of party strife." — pp. 9 — 11.

Who can doubt, that the moral influences flowing from the death of this virtuous man will equal those, or surpass them, which have flowed from his life? And who can regret, that a special occasion was appointed for the commemoration of so striking an event as his sudden death, under circumstances so remarkable, when sentiments like those in passages of this Eulogy just cited, have by this means been proclaimed from every pulpit in the land, in the ears of a whole people. We believe, that an impression for good has thus been made upon the public heart, which will not soon pass away.

From the closing pages of the Eulogy, we take a few anecdotes of the personal character of General Harrison, more honorable to his name than the glory of an hundred victories.

"In the internal administration of the affairs of the Territory, [Indiana,] the zeal and wisdom with which he promoted the substantial interests of the people, won their affections, and his disinterestedness and integrity commanded an unbounded confidence. He had the same scrupulous delicacy which characterized Washington, as to deriving any personal profit or advantage from the trusts which he held, however proper in itself that advantage might be, when it could by possibility excite in any mind, no matter how unjustly, the shadow of a suspicion of the perfect purity and patriotism of his intentions.

"For example; the power of confirming grants of lands to individuals having certain equitable claims, was confided to him. It was a power without check or limitation, entrusted to him alone, no publicity being required, not so much as a record being necessary from any other officer, his simple signature giving a title. It was an office of peculiar trust and delicacy, and to an unscrupulous man would have opened an unlimited opportunity of amassing a fortune. It ought to be small praise to say, that he was perfectly upright and honest in the discharge of this trust. He was more than this. Knowing that it was an office in which even an upright man might be suspected, to avoid all possibility of it, cutting himself off from an advantage which every other citizen enjoyed, he refused throughout his life to own a single acre of land held under a title emanating from himself, as the agent and representative of the general government.

"A large, if not the largest part of the proper emoluments of his office was derived through fees. To this, before he was appointed governor, he had been opposed. And, faithful to the principle, that one holding so responsible an office should do nothing which could give rise to a suspicion in any mind, that he was swayed in his acts or motives by any consideration of personal advantage, through the whole twelve years in which he held his office, he never accepted a fee for the performance of any official duty. Such was he in public life; and in his private relations, were this the occasion to refer to them, he might have been singled out among men, as the JUST MAN.

"And this unbending integrity was softened and made attractive by an habitual and generous disinterestedness. How open his heart and hand were in private life, is known to all. The same frank and generous spirit accompanied him in his public duties. No personal wrong, no temporary expediency, could tempt him into a harsh, or unjust, or ungenerous act. While at peace with the Indians, he strove to win them to civilized life, to protect them from their own passions, to save them from the dreadful scourge of intemperance. In war, he would allow no barbarity on their part, to be an excuse for similar acts of barbarity in revenge. He insisted as the first thing with his own troops, that the defenceless, and women and children and the aged, should be held sacred, alike in the fury of assault and in the triumph of victory. Even when the British general had offered rewards for every American scalp, his words were, 'Let an account of murdered innocence be opened in the records of Heaven against our enemies alone.' His address before the battle of the Thames was; 'Kentuckians, remember the river Raisin, but remember it only while the victory is suspended. The revenge of a soldier cannot be gratified upon a fallen enemy.' When a negro, on the battle ground of Tippecanoe, had penetrated to his tent for the purpose of assassinating him, and was convicted and ordered for execution by a court-martial, as Harrison passed where he lay pinioned on the ground, and saw his imploring look, he could not resist the inborn generosity of his nature, and suffered him to go free. He placed the wounded soldier on his own horse, and after the victory of the Thames, gave his last blanket to a wounded British officer, who was his prisoner."

"When, after the battle of Tippecanoe, the late war commenced, the warlike people of Kentucky were so anxious to have him for their leader, that he was made a citizen of their State, in order that he might be able to command its militia. And, till the close of the Northwestern campaigns, such was the

confidence reposed in him, that there was not a moment when a request sent by him to Kentucky for more troops, did not cause its roads at once to swarm with volunteers, anxious to win military reputation under his standard. He was looked on as the father of his soldiers. His presence was sufficient to suppress the mutinies, which in several cases took place among volunteers unaccustomed to military control and discipline. The confidence of the people followed and sustained him in all his movements, and the common term applied to him by his soldiers was, 'our *beloved* general.' The friendly Indian tribes shared the same feeling. Logan sacrificed himself, in proving that General Harrison had not been deceived in trusting to his affection; and when a second plan of assassinating him had been discovered, another Indian chief, distinguished for his bravery, insisted on sleeping regularly before the opening of his tent, that no one might enter, save over his body."

"Death has made public other features of his character, which before could be little known, save to the circle of his immediate friends. When it was proposed to him to attend the churches of different sects, in order to conciliate religious prejudices, he rejected the idea, saying; 'I go to church not to gain popularity, but to worship God.' For years he took an active part in a Sabbath School. A quarter of a century ago, he began to read his Bible daily as a duty, but the duty soon became a pleasure, which he would not under any circumstances forego; and amidst the toil and confusion of the capital, every evening, before retiring to rest, he cooled his mind from the fever of the day, by holding communion with the word of God. It shows how the religious spirit surpasses everything else in value, that now he is gone, it is not his successes nor his honors, but these traits of character, on which affection loves most to dwell. Whatever takes place for the last time, the last act of a dying friend, his last words, his last expression acquire a kind of sacred character, as indicating the frame of mind, as being in a manner the vestment of the soul, with which it passes from this into the eternal world. Hence it is, that the friends of the late Chief Magistrate love to remember, that the last paragraph, in his last address to the citizens of the United States, contained the expression of his profound conviction of the worth of Christianity, and that it was written in the very chamber, where in childhood he had received from parental lips, his first religious lessons; that his last letter was written to befriend an unfortunate but deserving seaman; that his last words show how his heart was bent on enforcing upon those who held places of power, a thorough, patriotic fidelity to their trusts

and to the constitution of the country ; and that religion, which in his life had so strong a hold on his heart, shed its hallowing light on his grave."

Mr. Putnam's Discourse, prepared at the request of the citizens of Roxbury, was delivered on the 16th of April. After speaking, in the introductory sentences, of the deep and general grief of the people, and the universal expression of it, he contends, that so deep a feeling, existing so generally, results from a principle "somewhat akin to that ancient sentiment of *loyalty*, which in some centuries has been one of the most powerful sentiments in the breasts of mankind, and is not yet extinct in the old world, — nor even here, though greatly and most happily changed as to its direction and influence." He then proceeds in a brief summary of the events in the life of the President, and a sketch of his character, which he thus closes.

"It was during the war with the British and Indians in the western country, from 1811 to 1814, that General Harrison enacted the most conspicuous part of his career, and acquired most distinction. I will give no details of his battles and victories. I disclaim all competency to discuss military merit. I only know that he was accounted brave, prudent, indefatigable, humane, and successful, which I suppose are the attributes of a good soldier. I perceive him to have been a commander whom Presidents, and Vice-Presidents, Congresses, Governors, and State Legislatures, his compatriots in arms, and the people of his time, repeatedly, constantly, by resolutions, despatches, medals, and all private and public methods, loaded with testimonials of approbation, gratitude, and honor. I rest content with such authority, because there is none higher to appeal to. Who is there to impeach a reputation so acquired and established? In those testimonials, we find abundant acknowledgments of the 'gallantry,' 'intrepidity,' and 'brilliant achievements' of a brave General; and greatly to be honored is the man, who could gain such laurels in a worthy cause, — the protection of women and children from savage ferocity, and the scattered population of an exposed frontier, from fire and sword, captivity and annihilation. But I will pass by these expressions, that indicate his military standing. They are the common tribute to the military deservings of every great commander. They interest me less than some other qualities, of which I find indications. As I cast my eye over those old documents, that give us the events and feelings of the time, my attention is arrested by different words, which I love to see applied to one, whom we have since

delighted to honor. I see, all along in various letters and military papers, the word 'beloved' applied to him again and again. Now he is called, in a business letter, 'this *beloved* man, uniting in himself the entire confidence of the western people.' Again, 'the excellent, the universally *beloved* Harrison,' — and again, the '*beloved* Harrison,' — and yet again, the '*beloved* chieftain Harrison,' — 'the Washington of the West,' as they were fond of calling him in those days. These expressions interest me more than those which bear witness to his abilities or his valor, though I would not have them separated. The qualities that win confidence and affection are the truest gems in a great man's crown of honor, imparting more lustre to his intellect than they receive from it.

"After making allowance for exaggerated statements on either side, and judging from the best information we have, I think it is not to be doubted, that the late President added to large experience and respectable attainments, substantial abilities, that fitted him to fill worthily any station that required wisdom and energy, sagacity and firmness, however high, and qualified him, independently of official consequence, to take his place in counsel or action, among great men, as an equal among equals. But on this point I will make no argument and bring no testimony; for a funeral discourse it would be unsuitable, and for history it is unnecessary. Besides, it is not his highest praise nor his truest eulogy. We know well enough that he had from early youth discharged high and responsible trusts with ability and success. But let that pass. I deem it a far greater thing that he discharged them all from first to last with unsullied purity and an unbending rectitude, stained nor warped, never, — there is not a living voice or a written record to charge it, — never for a moment, by the cursed thirst of gold or self-aggrandizement. He discharged public duties ably and faithfully, — but what is greater than that and the guarantee of that, he was a high-principled and exemplary man, a Christian man, in all the relations of life. He could raise himself to posts of dignity and power, and the highest places in his country's notice and esteem; and what is more and greater, he could preserve there a downright simplicity, and the plainest tastes and manners. He could lead armies and govern men; and greater and rarer than that, O! how much greater and rarer, he could govern himself, and rule his own spirit in the fear of God. We are assured, that he was brave and dauntless; — I am more glad to know that besides this, he was mild and gentle, and disinterested and tender-hearted. We infer, from many passages of his life, and by the testimony of many who knew

him, that he was distinguished for a warm-hearted affectionateness and a self-forgetting generosity. The very infirmities that have been attributed to him, are such as usually mark a frank and kindly nature, and are incompatible with the cold and dark designs of selfishness. One of the last acts of his life, a letter written in behalf of an humble friend in distress, shows how beautifully, how touchingly, — as, indeed, the tenor of his life shows, — that his sympathy for his fellow-citizens, his fellow-creatures, for his brother man, did outrun, preclude, and annihilate all pride of place, all love of ease or etiquette or money or power. A good heart, thank God, is sometimes stronger than them all. I think we know enough of the man to understand how that epithet, *the beloved*, came to be so frequently applied to his name in former years, and why it still cleaves to him, outshining his fame, and outliving the collisions of party and the grandeur of office.

“From contemplating these traits of a great and good man, I return with a pang to the thought, that he is gone, and that these are his funeral honors. And yet, why should it be with a pang? There is a fit and beautiful, though tender and sad association, between goodness and death, patriotism and death, love and death. No death is so melancholy as an unregretted, unwept one. We would not, that his life had been less valued and dear, that his death might be less lamented. We will bear it with submission, that the career of the Magistrate should have been cut short, and left undistinguished by public measures, in order that the character of the Man may be his chief, as it is ever the highest and most precious legacy and lesson to his country. We will bear it, almost willingly, that the fruits of his policy, whatever they may have been, should be denied us, lest, however beneficent, they should have withdrawn our regards from the higher attributes of his greatness, and left, at last, a more earthly, less hallowed memorial of his patriotism and his virtues in the breasts of his people. And seeing it hath pleased the Infinite wisdom to remove him, we will rejoice, that his character and memory seem as truly in harmony with the kingdom of heaven as with the high places of earth. Seeing that the robes of office must fall off so soon, and the shroud be put on, we will bless God for the assurance, that they covered a Christian heart, humble and devout, trusting in the Redeemer, at peace and ready to depart. I rejoice with you, my Christian fellow-citizens, that Religion, who, whatever had been the man, must lift up her voice on such an occasion, is not put in constraint; that the necessity which is laid upon her, is now perfect freedom to her; that she is not obliged to put on a mask, or disguise her

genuine tones, and pronounce a heathenish panegyric of what has been great or dazzling in a career of earthly ambition and power; that she may pass by the trappings of this world's honor, and as befits her office, follow the private walk, and enter into the closet, and sit down by the death-bed of the great man, and find her own spirit and superscription there; that she may bend over his grave, and in the heavenward vision of her own bright faith, follow his released spirit to the unseen world, and without jarring or discrepancy, speak of the promises of God to the righteous, and the good man's gain in dying. A beautiful and happy thing it is, that Religion herself can pronounce the eulogy of our highest man, a nation's choice, and yet be true to herself, her mission of humility and holiness, her message of immortality and salvation.

"He is gone, full of years and of honors, with a prepared spirit, and a Christian's humble hope, he has ceased from his labors, and gone to his rest. Peace be to him. Our benedictions follow him. The place where his ashes repose shall be hallowed ground to a mourning nation. His name shall always be spoken with respect. Our affectionate remembrance of him shall live while we live. We will speak of him to our children, and they shall tell their children in distant years to come, how we, their fathers, loved and lamented the GOOD PRESIDENT, —

‘Ours and our country's friend.’”

These impressive reflections occur towards the close of the discourse.

"We will hope and pray that God's blessing may attend this chastening of his hand, and good influences upon the country's welfare follow in the footsteps of this afflictive visitation. May he, whose duty it has become to assume the reins of government, and all those who shall succeed to that high office hereafter, and occupy that dwelling which is now the house of mourning and of death, — when they enter there clothed with their great trust, may they pause upon the threshold, and in lowliness of mind take in the solemnity that henceforth fills the place; may they remember, that the foot-prints of the King of Terrors are there, even there, and that palace doors are no bar to that dread message, which awaits the high and the low alike. So may they rule in the fear of God, who is King of kings and higher than the highest, and putting away all unhallowed ambition, and all unrighteous judgment, be faithful to their stewardship, as unto God their judge. May the national councils, soon to be assembled, be impressed by the solemn admonition, and like Christian men, in the fear of God and the love of their

country, put away rancor and malice, and selfish ends, and party strifes, and through wisdom and righteousness, forbearance and conciliation, address themselves, with however diverse opinions, yet as with one patriot mind, to the wants and interests of a confiding country.

“And may the whole nation lay to heart this dread dispensation of God. What a rebuke does it speak to us, of our reliance on human things. It seems but yesterday, that the hot strife for ascendancy was raging. The majority, on their part, were contending, as they were opposed, — contending with all the forces of reason and argument, of wit and ridicule, of truth and deception, of song and shout and pageantry, appealing to the highest interests and to the lowest motives, — alike contending, with their adversaries, with burning zeal and like untiring activity, doing everything, sacrificing everything, to achieve what they deemed their country’s deliverance and prosperity; and then, when they had prevailed, and had placed the helm in the hands they trusted, and had secured the end they aimed at, and just paused to contemplate the result, — then, just then, death stalks upon the scene, and demonstrates the futility and comparative littleness of it all. So, sooner or later, it always is. We raise up our bulwarks of power and prosperity, adorn them, fortify them, establish them on the firmest rocks of earth, we begin to glory in them, and then the hand of the Destroyer is stretched out, and sets the stamp of vanity on all we have done, and the proudest work of our hands crumbles away and is gone.”

With the following extract from the sermon of Mr. Simmons, not less appropriate in its topics than those which have gone before, we conclude our notice of these excellent discourses.

“That General Harrison was in high station, does not render his death any more considerable in the eye of Religion or of God. Rank and worldly honor, true wisdom counts as nothing. They *are* nothing. They confer no glory. A dying President is nothing but a dying man, a dying, sinful man, an heir of eternity; like the least honored and least powerful among us, who may to-morrow breathe out his spirit beneath an undistinguished roof. The lamented magistrate should receive no more praise, than if his election had been defeated, and he had died in obscurity. But God chose that he should be raised for a few days to power, to die in the midst of honors and of hopes before the eyes of a nation. In that he did not live longer, I think we should count him happy. To hold the chief office of a nation is no blessing. No wise man would religiously congrat-

ulate him who achieves it. *To rise in the world is no object with a Christian*, — Christ reproves it, ('he that is greatest among you, let him be your servant,') *but to be faithful to the station, in which he is placed.* All power and outward honor, we should accept with fear and reluctance. The duties of every situation are difficult enough. The glory consists in being true to them. By the almost unanimous testimony of those, who have undertaken to speak, General Harrison had faithfully discharged the trusts before reposed in him; and he was happy in being taken away before being thrown into the midst of intrigues and brilliant temptations, which might have proved too great for his peace, and purity of soul, too complicated for him to unravel, too strongly wicked for him to oppose, too speciously delusive for him to understand. He was old; he was honored; his country had testified its confidence in him; and if worldly power and observance are not to be courted, but rather to be feared by one who labors for his salvation, then General Harrison was happy in dying. The honors, which he left behind, were like the bubbles, with which children amuse themselves for an hour; and whatever virtues he bore within him, were glories, which became only more illustrious as he left the world. Let Religion, then, be understood, when she lifts her voice on this occasion. The worldly honors she contemns; the loss of them she does not mourn; the possessor of them she does not honor any more, because he possesses them; although this circumstance, by making him an object of public attention, may render him a proper object of public remark.

"This dispensation, however, is a solemn lesson to our country, especially to its active citizens; and seems to be intended, if we may speak of the intentions of Providence, to bring the thoughts of another world, and of an invisible Disposer, among the considerations of politics. It warns us all, when we consider our country, to consider our country's God. It impresses on politicians a sense of their responsibility, and of the vanity of all their schemes. It came not alone; but was soon followed by the sudden death of a man, who had contributed as much, perhaps, as any other in the country, to Harrison's election. These sudden strokes, following immediately upon the fever of the late political canvas, pour upon the heated mind such solemnizing considerations as may have been supposed to have visited the soldier, who, after the sack of Jerusalem and a hot day of battle, reposed from his slaughter and his crimes, by the side of the holy sepulchre, or within the sound of the sacred waters of Siloam. Though the barbarian soldier knew not the holiness of the spot, the sight of a grave would quench in his

breast the flames of war ; and in all his triumph, the thought of futurity would overshadow his mind with misgivings and solemn monitions. Our citizens, after their day of contest, have in like manner been called to rest from their labors beside a tomb ; and they are also at this hour seated within sound of those waters of Siloam, where he that is blind may wash and receive his sight. They are gathered together in their several churches, to hear the sacred word, which dispels the blindness of the worldly, and washes the disciple clean.

“ And for our part, let us weigh well the salutary lesson. Especially I beseech that part of you, who take interest in politics, to look at this event in a religious light. I do not say it is a judgment. The miseries and losses we have suffered in the Florida war are a judgment. Should we enter into war with Great Britain, the indescribable loss and demoralization which would ensue, would be a judgment upon us. And we suffer under many other heavy judgments for our national and personal sins. But the death of our President I do not regard as a judgment, but as a kind warning from a compassionate Father. The monition is not severe, but gentle. It took from us an old man, mature and honored, like a ripe shock of grain ; at a time when his place may be supplied by others ; and the death was accompanied by no circumstances, that leave behind them bitter recollections. Yet, though not a judgment, it is a rebuke, and a solemn, solemn warning.”

“ But it is not by death alone, but by a continual limitation of our power, frustration of our plans, withstanding and destroying our headstrong force, by constant restraints and control, using the will and the wrath of man for purposes of which man knows nothing, that the unseen Disposer prepares the future, and regulates the present. Who foresaw the French Revolution ? And who could control it when it came ? It appeared to work by a plan and to an end, yet without any earthly projector. How multiplied its retributions ! how impartial ! how terrible ! how hath he made the wrath of man to praise him ! Who can extricate England from her troubles, or show how her oppressed classes are to be fed, or kept from rebellion hereafter ? Retribution without fail awaits her in the years now coming, for her domestic wrongs, and for her horrible oppression and tyranny in the East. But how that future will be shaped is wholly dark ; and over it her statesmen have almost no control. And our future, also, how is it covered with thick clouds ! Do not believe your orators, when they tell you that it is to be glorious, the life of a virgin empire gilded by a summer sun. Nothing truly glorious awaits us. Nothing truly

glorious awaits a people so unspiritual, so turbulent, so irreligious as we. The only glory that rests on us as a nation is the brilliancy of those gifts of God, which indeed distinguish our condition above that of all other nations, but which we have received and used unworthily. Burdened with sins as we are, shooting or debauching the wretched remains of the Indian tribes, holding the blacks under our yoke, raging against one another with political and sectarian animosities, our future will be anything but glorious, according to any true standard of glory. It will be filled with contentions, with schemes of pride and covetousness, and lead possibly to dismemberment of our country, and to civil war. But over all these will triumph the purposes of Him who cannot be withstood, and whose word shall endure forever. Ignorantly we are working out a destiny, which is written in the book of Providence.

“The earth shall be filled with the glory of God, but not with our own. We, it is hoped, will be among his favored instruments, and enjoy his beneficent providence without boasting of ourselves. He has established our nation in liberty, intelligence, and wealth, that a purer Church and higher forms of humanity may here arise; and when we hear of wars, and rumors of wars, be not troubled, for the end is not yet; one state will rise against another, and there will be commotions and pestilences in divers places. One party or another, one class or another, one individual or another, may rise to power, and overthrow the rest; but these events are of little importance; the future will be shaped by moral forces working beneath all this, the spiritual character and thought of the people, by the holy understanding, the religious hope, by the disinterested and firm principle which are the working of the Spirit of God in their hearts. We do no service to our country, unless we add to this deep spiritual force. The example of the true patriot is always valuable as adding to this tide. And his death may be often more valuable than his life, as adding to it more, or impressing on it a holier tendency. It is not the laws and the Constitution, nor partisan zeal, that decides what our people will be hereafter; the Gospel of Christ is to have more influence on our future, than all these together. The cause of our country is a *holy* one. God will guide us to great, to unknown, and unsuspected issues.”

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Psychology ; or, a View of the Human Soul ; including Anthropology, adapted for the use of Colleges. By Rev. FREDERICK A. RAUCH, D. P., late President of Marshall College, Pennsylvania. Second Edition, revised and improved. New York : M. W. Dodd. 1841. 8vo. pp. 401.

WORKS on mental philosophy have multiplied among us, of late, with a rapidity, which betokens that some interest is taken in the subject, and that some individuals are willing and anxious, if the work lie within the compass of their means, to create for the public a little of the food, which it begins to crave. The endeavor is a praiseworthy one, though we fear, that as yet it has not accomplished much. Some translations, from the French and German, a few reprints of old English treatises, an occasional Review or Magazine article, very profound, but not very readable, and several text-books, containing a hotchpotch of half a dozen systems, all put together by an approved hand, constitute all that we are able to show, thus far, as the fruits of transatlantic speculations on metaphysics. We shall do better in time. At least, the fact, that such books and scribblings are printed and sold, — if the two last words do not form a *non sequitur*, — is one of good augury for the future. It proves, that we are better off in this respect than our English cousins across the water, among whom, if anything has been doing for the past dozen years in the way of pure speculation, it has wholly escaped our notice. With this modest estimate of the value and extent of any indigenous publications on the subject, we were somewhat surprised by the preface of the work now before us, in which the writer speaks of his book as being “the first attempt to unite German and *American* mental philosophy.” The compound, thought we, must contain very unequal measures of the two ingredients, an ocean of the former to a homeopathic dose of the latter principle. Even a greater inequality than this is indicated by the list of writers, whose works Dr. Rauch acknowledges that he has consulted with profit, where among some twenty names we looked in vain for that of one American. We are compelled, therefore, to consider the expression of the preface as a mere complimentary flourish to the land of free institutions, and, as the writer himself was German by birth, to regard the *American* share of the present work as “next to nothing.”

This second edition of Dr. Rauch's *Psychology* appears with
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a claim to gentle and considerate criticism, founded on the fact, that it is a posthumous publication. The writer died before the matter was completely revised for the press, and the superintendence of the printing consequently devolved upon a friend. From a brief sketch annexed to the work by this gentleman, we learn that the author was one of a now rather numerous company of educated and enlightened Germans, who, their fair prospects at home being cut short by political difficulties, have found a refuge in our country. What was their country's and their own loss, since expatriation is always an evil, has been our gain. By their sound scholarship and general abilities, many of them have attained professional eminence amongst us, and have often rendered efficient aid to our seminaries of learning. After a temporary connexion with a classical school in Pennsylvania, Dr. Rauch became the President of Marshall College, in that state, and remained in this situation until his premature death. The present work grew out of his labors as a teacher in the college, that department of instruction having been allotted to him, for which he was especially fitted by inclination and previous studies. Good success attended its publication, as the edition passed rapidly from the bookseller's hands, and the writer was encouraged to think of following up his labors by preparing consecutive treatises, on a similar plan, upon Moral Philosophy and *Æsthetics*; a project which was unhappily stayed when it was far short of completion.

Though the writer had been but ten years in this country, the book shows an almost entire mastery of the idioms and difficulties of the language. The style is generally clear and flowing, and it requires an attentive eye to detect occasional departures from the freedom and purity of a native English writer. The arrangement of topics and selection of illustrations is not so good. There is a clumsiness in the way of putting together the materials of the work, which betrays extensive, though not well-digested information, and an occasional hesitancy in setting forth original views in the midst of borrowed matter and opinions. We have farther to complain of a laborious patience and desire of completeness in treating a subject, somewhat characteristic, perhaps, of the writer's countrymen, which insists on rounding off a theory by a minute discussion of every head, into which it can possibly be divided, though at the expense of introducing much trivial and needless matter. It is much to be wished, that some writers would take it for granted, that a reader is not always a complete ignoramus, but is capable of making some very obvious deductions and remarks, without any assistance. Some space might be gained in this way for the farther

elucidation of real difficulties, and the whole performance would not carry with it a rather suspicious appearance of the arts of book-making.

The first part of this work treats of "Anthropology," a term that has been some time in use among the Germans, to denote the science of man considered in so far as he is affected by his external relations. The writer's intimate acquaintance with the works of foreign naturalists, and speculators on the physical history of mankind, has enabled him to introduce much interesting matter, which will be new to most American readers. But it must be admitted, that the speculations and theorizing often bear an undue proportion to the statement of facts observed, and we are not so fond of hypotheses, however ingenious, as to welcome their gratuitous appearance in works on natural science. But we suppose the praise or blame for these fine-spun cogitations belongs to the original propounders of them. Our respect for Dr. Rauch's own judgment and good sense, however, was somewhat shaken by finding him to be a believer in Animal Magnetism, the silly stories about which he seems not only to espouse and defend, but he has even a theory, all cut and dried, wherewith to explain these astounding phenomena; in other words, he erects a cobweb scaffolding for an edifice built of moonbeams.

The treatise on Psychology is better executed than the former portion of the book. The writer is more familiar with the subject; and without exhausting it, or always avoiding hypotheses and rash statement, he still goes over much ground in a simple, argumentative, and intelligible manner, and gives a very clear account of the primary operations of mind. There is no great originality in the views set forth, but the matter has all been carefully wrought over and digested, and the reader is not perplexed by the contradictory statements or abrupt transitions, which usually mark the progress of a bungling borrower. But there is cause of regret, that our author has followed the track of some metaphysicians of the second rank among his countrymen, such as Daub and Carus, instead of profiting by the labors of the three master minds of Germany, whose influence, whether for evil or good, has been widely felt in the field of intellectual philosophy. Fichte is not mentioned in the list of authors consulted, and there is but scant allusion to the systems of Kant and Schelling. With Dr. Rauch's facility in adapting an English garb to the somewhat involved and technical expression of German philosophy, he might have presented an intelligible view of the speculations of these writers to a public, who would have fully appreciated the value of the undertaking. His desire of

being perspicuous is sometimes excessive ; for the matter is not unfrequently overlaid by the illustrations, and it becomes difficult to follow the thread of the argument through the heap of subsidiary remarks and anecdotes, by which it is surrounded. His work, on the whole, though not precisely adapted for use as a text-book, abounds with curious and instructive matter for the private student and general inquirer, and to such persons it may be recommended without reserve.

A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, adapted to North America ; with a view to the Improvement of Country Residences ; comprising Historical Notices and General Principles of the Art ; Directions for laying out Grounds and arranging Plantations, the description and cultivation of hardy Trees, Decorative Accompaniments to the Houses and Grounds, the formation of pieces of Artificial Water, Flower Gardens, &c., with Remarks on Rural Architecture. Illustrated by Engravings. By J. A. DOWNING. New York and London : Wiley and Putnam. Boston : C. C. Little & Co. 1841. 8vo. pp. 451.

WE have only time and space to welcome this volume, and express our regret, that we are not able to notice it as it deserves. It comes, we think, most opportunely ; and we cannot do less than to inform our readers how highly we think of it, and invite them to read it and judge for themselves. No one, who is about to lay out grounds, or to build in this country, on a large scale or a small, with ample or moderate means, should proceed in his work without reading it. There is so much good taste and good sense in it, the author is so familiar with whatever relates to his subject, and lays down so many leading principles, and gives so many valuable directions, in regard to almost everything that relates to a country residence, that we may venture to say, that whoever neglects to read it, until after he has built his house and laid out his grounds, will bitterly regret it. The author's observations upon the different styles, suitable for houses in the country, are of great value. A building of beautiful proportions, adapted in its position and style to the scenery about it, and arranged with a regard to perfect convenience, costs no more than a building of the same size, without taste or beauty, ill situated, and inconvenient. The same may be said of the observations on the laying out and ornamenting of grounds. Paths and walks and roads may be laid out with reference to the principles of taste and beauty, at as little expense as the worst avenues that can be planned ; and forest

trees and orchards may be planted so as to produce the most agreeable effect, as cheaply as they can be set in stiff lines or awkward clumps.

The increased facilities of locomotion have extended to multitudes the power of living in the country, who have hitherto been condemned to a residence in town; and numberless habitations are springing up in the vicinity of cities and large towns, and along the rivers and other great lines of communication. In all these, nothing is more conspicuous than an ambition to build with taste, and in most instances, a complete failure in the attempt. There may be a few persons, in whom the principles of domestic architecture are innate. It is evident enough, that they are very few. By the great majority, good models are wanted; or, what is the best substitute, such engravings and instructions as are contained in this volume. The principles of rural architecture and of landscape gardening, an art almost entirely new in this country, are founded in common sense and cultivated taste. Whenever they are pointed out, they are at once recognised, and their authority admitted. We assent to them in spite of ourselves. They are admirably well laid down in this treatise.

Organic Chemistry, in its application to Agriculture and Physiology. By JUSTUS LIEBIG, M. D., &c., &c. First American Edition, with an Introduction, Notes, and Appendix, by JOHN W. WEBSTER, M. D., Professor of Chemistry in Harvard University. 12mo. pp. 435. Cambridge: John Owen. 1841.

DR. WEBSTER has rendered an important service to the agricultural community, by presenting an edition of this now well known and highly esteemed work. Professor Liebig has for some time been known as one of the most eminent chemists of Europe, and the publication of this work in England has excited general and unqualified approbation. Almost all the scientific and literary periodicals have been loud in its praise, and all concur in the opinion, that a new era in agriculture must date from its appearance. The present edition has been greatly increased in value and utility by the additions which it has received from the American editor. The Notes and Appendix contain much important information for the agriculturist, and the explanations which have been added of chemical terms, render it intelligible to all. It should be in the hands of every farmer. The typography and general appearance of the volume is such as might be expected from the University Press.

Selections from the Poetical Literature of the West. Cincinnati. Published by U. P. JAMES. 12mo. pp. 264. 1841.

THIS is a beautiful volume. It is one which does credit to the Press, and to the growing literature of the West. We recognise many pieces, with which we have before been familiar, as they wandered up and down in the newspapers of the land, a generation of literary foundlings, and we are glad to see them collected together, with the names of their authors. It will surprise some readers to find how many of those, who are well known in the poetical literature of the country, have their homes beyond the Alleghanies. The work is published under the editorial care of William D. Gallagher, who introduces it with a well written Preface. The selections are made from thirty-eight different writers. Some few of the pieces might have been omitted without subtracting anything from the value of the volume; and yet we are glad to see them all, as it enables us to form a better idea of the general state of taste and literary cultivation in the West.

Of the names contained in the volume, that of Mr. Gallagher is probably best known as a poet. He has within a few years published several small volumes of poetry, which, though very unequal, contain much of a very high order of merit, and which give him deservedly a place among the best writers of our country. We find here the names of Prentice, Thomas, Judge Hall, Shreve, Drake, Flint, Mrs. Dinnies, Mrs. Hentz, and others, equally well known. There are some excellent lines, "Written on the Rocky Mountains," by Albert Pike of Arkansas, a vigorous and powerful writer; and another piece, by William Wallace, "To the star Lyra," which is full of poetry. Had we room, we should quote two admirable pieces, by James H. Perkins, "To a Child," and "Of our now Far Away;" and another, "To a Bunch of Flowers," by James F. Clarke. But we must confine ourselves to a single selection, and that shall be "August," by William D. Gallagher. Our readers may be familiar with it, but they will be glad to see it again. It seems to us one of the most perfect and exquisite descriptions in the language.

" AUGUST.

BY WILLIAM D. GALLAGHER.

DUST on thy mantle! dust,
Bright Summer, on thy livery of green!
A tarnish as of rust,
Dims thy late brilliant sheen;

And thy young glories, — leaf, and bud, and flower, —
Change cometh over them with every hour.

Thou hast the August sun
Looked on with hot, and fierce, and brassy face,
And still and lazily run,
Scarce whispering in their pace,
The half-dried rivulets, that lately sent
A shout of gladness up, as on they went.

Flame-like, the long mid-day,
With not so much of sweet air as hath stirred
The down upon the spray,
Where rests the panting bird,
Dozing away the hot and tedious noon,
With fitful twitter, sadly out of tune.

Seeds in the sultry air,
And gossamer web-work on the sleeping trees !
E'en the tall pines, that rear
Their plumes to catch the breeze,
The slightest breeze from the unfreshening west,
Partake the general languor and deep rest.

Happy as man may be,
Stretched on his back in homely bean-vine bower,
While the voluptuous bee
Robs each surrounding flower,
And prattling childhood clambers o'er his breast,
The husbandman enjoys his noon-day rest.

Against the hazy sky
The thin and fleecy clouds, unmoving, rest.
Beneath them far, yet high
In the dim, distant west,
The vulture, scenting thence its carrion-fare,
Sails, slowly circling in the sunny air.

Soberly, in the shade,
Repose the patient cow, and toil-worn ox ;
Or in the shoal-stream wade,
Sheltered by jutting rocks ;
The fleecy flock, fly-scourged and restless, rush
Madly from fence to fence, from bush to bush.

Tediously pass the hours,
And vegetation wilts, with blistered root, —
And droop the thirsting flowers,
When the slant sunbeams shoot ;
But of each tall old tree, the lengthening line,
Slow-creeping eastward, marks the day's decline.

Faster, along the plain,
 Moves now the shade, and on the meadow's edge ;
 The kine are forth again,
 The bird flits in the hedge ;
 Now in the molten west sinks the hot sun.
 Welcome, mild eve ! — the sultry day is done.

Pleasantly comest thou,
 Dew of the evening, to the crisped-up grass ;
 And the curled corn-blades bow,
 As the light breezes pass,
 That their parched lips may feel thee, and expand,
 Thou sweet reviver of the fevered land.

So to the thirsting soul
 Cometh the dew of the Almighty's love ;
 And the scathed heart, made whole,
 Turneth in joy above,
 To where the spirit freely may expand,
 And rove untrammelled in that 'better land.'

German Romance ; Specimens of its chief Authors. With Biographical and Critical Notices. By THOMAS CARLYLE. In Two Volumes. 12mo. pp. 408, 369. Boston : James Munroe & Co.

THIS American edition of Carlyle's Translations from the Romance writers of Germany is an exact reprint, as we understand, of the London, excepting the omission of "Wilhelm Meister," in consequence of a separate publication of that work in Philadelphia. These volumes, then, contain selections from Müsăus, Fouqué, Tieck, Hoffman, and Richter. The mere English reader may now obtain some competent idea of the character of German fiction ; and if he has read, as he ought to have done, Professor Felton's translation of Menzel, he will be glad to meet with specimens of some of the authors patted on the head, or cut in pieces by that slashing critic. These volumes appear very opportunely as illustrations of some of the chapters of that work.

ERRATA.

The signature "F. B." should have been affixed to the article on "Transcendental Theology," in the last No. ; and "T. P." to the review of "Strauss's Life of Jesus" in the 99th No.

Last Vol. p. 293, 14th line from the bottom, for "exciting" read "exerting."

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